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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

BULGARIA

Zhelev Reacts to Clinton Election *[TRUD 5 Nov]* 2
Various Politicians React to Clinton Election *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 5 Nov]* 2
Clinton's Foreign Policy Priorities Analyzed *[DEMOKRATSIYA 5 Nov]* 3
No Change in U.S. Policy on Bulgaria Expected *[24 CHASA 5 Nov]* 3
Clinton Victory Result of Desire for Change *[KONTINENT 5 Nov]* 3
Agrarian Parties Unite; Congress Ends *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Zhelev Greets Congress *[BTA]* 4
SDS Deputies Comment on Dimitrov Candidacy *[BTA]* 4
Trenchev Rejects Idea of New Dimitrov Cabinet *[KONTINENT 4 Nov]* 5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Minister Knazko Discusses Gabcikovo, Separation *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 9 Nov]* 6
Knazko Meets With Austrian Foreign Minister *[cross-reference]* 6
Klaus Views 9 Nov Czech-Slovak Talks *[Prague Radio]* 6
ODU Urges Boycott of Referendum on State Setup *[CSTK]* 7
Czech Government Completes Draft of Constitution *[CSTK]* 8
Parliament Rejects Law on Secret Service Division *[CSTK]* 8
Parties Appeal to Klaus, Havel To Cooperate *[CSTK]* 9
Both 1993 Czech Budget Options Foresee Deficit *[CSTK]* 9

HUNGARY

Ministry Protests FRY Fees for Use of Danube *[MTI]* 10
Central Bank To Devalue Forint 1.9 Percent *[MTI]* 10
Finance Ministry Issues Report on Economy *[MTI]* 10
National Debt Decreases; Bank Reserves Rise *[MTI]* 10
Defense Minister on Reorganization, Europe Ties *[MTI]* 11
Energy Plan Stresses Diversification, Investment *[NEPSZABADSAG 2 Nov]* 11
Official's State of Emergency Remark Examined *[NEPSZAVA 3 Nov]* 12

POLAND

Government, Solidarity End Negotiations *[PAP]* 13
Third Largest Parliamentary Group Forms *[PAP]* 13
Commentator Analyzes Clinton's Election Success *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 7-8 Nov]* 13
U.S. Election: Ties With State, Not Individual *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 5 Nov]* 14
Commentary Hails Defense Doctrine Decisions *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 3 Nov]* 15

ROMANIA

Caution Urged Regarding Clinton Victory *[TINERETUL LIBER 5 Nov]* 16
Clinton Gives Hope for Most-Favored-Nation Status *[ADEVARUL 5 Nov]* 16
Effect of Clinton's Victory Analyzed *[ROMANIA LIBERA 5 Nov]* 17
Clinton Expected To 'Repair' Bush's Mistakes *[DIMINEATA 5 Nov]* 17

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Red Cross To Evacuate 6,000 From Sarajevo *[AFP]* 19
UNPROFOR Opposes Evacuation *[Zagreb Radio]* 19
Karadzic Presents Seven-Point Peace Plan *[Belgrade Radio]* 19
'Hundreds' of Casualties Reported in Hercegovina *[TANJUG]* 19
Zagreb Radio Reports Battle 20
Corridors Cut Between Serb Republic, FRY *[TANJUG]* 20
Serbs Reportedly Using Helicopters in Gradacac *[Zagreb Radio]* 20
Izetbegovic Wants Arms Embargo Lifted *[Zagreb Radio]* 20
Silajdzic Plays Down Discord in Government Ranks *[Vienna DER STANDARD 9 Nov]* 21

CROATIA

Serbs Protest 'Incorrect' UN Forces Behavior *[TANJUG]* 22
Paper Comments on 'Comeback' of U.S. Democrats *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 6 Nov]* 22

SLOVENIA

U.S. 'Steering to the Left,' Europe 'to the Right' *[DNEVNIK 5 Nov]* 23
Austria's Vranitzky Meets With Drnovsek, Kucan *[Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG 6 Nov]* 23
Vranitzky Provides Money for Refugees *[Salzburg SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN 7 Nov]* 23
Berisha, Kucan Discuss 'Stabilization' of Macedonia *[Ljubljana Radio]* 24

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Court Orders Serbs To Free Federal Building *[Belgrade TV]* 25
Cosic Asks Butrus-Ghali To Warn Croatia *[TANJUG]* 25
EC Reportedly Rules Out Lifting Sanctions *[Belgrade TV]* 25
Foreign Minister Djukic Meets With Butrus-Ghali *[TANJUG]* 25
Government Proposes Draft Law on Foreign Capital *[TANJUG]* 26
Dinar Exchange Rate Depends on UN Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 26
Daily Comments on Nuclear Arms Proliferation *[POLITIKA 3 Nov]* 27

Serbia

Officials Deny Mass Grave Near Vukovar *[TANJUG]* 28

Montenegro

Foreign Minister Visits Albania, Meets Officials *[TANJUG]* 28

Macedonia

Skopje Funerals Draw 20,000 Albanians *[AFP]* 28
Four Kosovars Sentenced *[Skopje Radio]* 28
Albanian Leader Issues Warning *[AFP]* 28
Despite Quiet, Tensions Continue *[Belgrade TV]* 29
Daily Examines Chances for U.S. Recognition *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 5 Nov]* 29

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Zagreb radio reports that the Red Cross will begin evacuating 6,000 refugees from Sarajevo to Split or Belgrade without an escort from the UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR). Sarajevo UNPROFOR commander Adnan Abdul Razek said that his troops "did not want to take part in" the removal of civilians "by force."

Yugoslavia

Macedonia—AFP reports that 20,000 ethnic Albanians attended the funerals of three Albanians killed during clashes with police on 6 November in Skopje. Local Albanian leader Muhamed Halili warned that the atmosphere in the Macedonian capital remains tense, saying that time "for us to be able to avoid conflict" is running out.

Poland

Talks between the government and the Solidarity trade union on management of state-owned firms ended without a decisive agreement, PAP reports. Although Deputy Labor Minister Andrzej Baczkowski said that a "compromise has been reached on most topics," Solidarity negotiator Ewa Tomaszewska said that the trade union "finds it difficult to accept" the government's tax on "excess" wage increases.

The Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD), the Polish Economic Program, and the "liberal faction" of the Center Accord agreed to form the third largest caucus in the Sejm, PAP reports. Despite the group's formation, KLD parliamentary leader Jan Pamula said that his party "still wants to cooperate with" Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's Democratic Union Party "as a stable partner that opts for reforming the country and economy."

Romania

ADEVARUL writes that the election of Bill Clinton not only might "mean a change in attitude toward Romania," but also gives hope that the United States will grant the country most-favored-nation status. DIMINEATA writes that President-elect Clinton, "a first-rate world politician," has the possibility "to repair the mistake of the old administration" regarding that decision.

Zhelev Reacts to Clinton Election

AU0911154992 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Nov 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Zhelyu Zhelev, Bulgarian president, by an unidentified TRUD reporter; on 4 November, place not given: "Zhelyu Zhelev Is Happy for Clinton"]

[Text] On 4 November a TRUD representative put two questions to the Bulgarian president, who through his answers, expressed his respect for the readers of the newspaper considered to be the most objective Bulgarian daily.

[TRUD] Mr. President, how would you comment on the election of the U.S. president, who is a relatively young person and who won in a such a convincing manner against such a formidable person as George Bush?

[Zhelev] I am happy with Bill Clinton's victory. With him, a new generation is entering U.S. politics. However, I have always had sympathy for George Bush, also because of his positive attitude toward Bulgaria.

I hope that the attitude of the new president toward Bulgaria and East European countries, where young democracies are budding after the collapse of the communist system, will also be beneficial, and that it will be characterized by a profound understanding of and attention toward these countries' problems.

[TRUD] Could I take this opportunity to ask you whether you are optimistic about the situation in Bulgaria, described by some people as a situation on the eve of elections?

[Zhelev] Generally speaking, I am an optimist about Bulgaria's situation. I do not think that this is a preelection situation, at least this is my feeling based on the prevailing mood and statements by the main political forces. They have all declared that they are not interested in elections, and that at present Bulgaria does not need elections. I think that since the Union of Democratic Forces won the elections according to all the rules of parliamentary democracy, it must not relinquish the election results and seek revenge in any form. There is simply no logic in this, unless they are striving for something else. What is needed simply is a strong, able, competent, and active government that should continue the implementation of the reform at an accelerated pace. It is also necessary to elect as early as this week a new chairman of the National Assembly in order to stabilize the situation in this state power institution.

Various Politicians React to Clinton Election

AU0911160392 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 5 Nov 92 pp 1, 4

[Statements by Anastasiya Mozer, chief secretary of the Nikola Petkov BZNS; Aleksandur Yordanov, chairman of the SDS parliamentary faction; Nora Ananieva, chairman of the BSP parliamentary faction; and Yunal Lyutfi, deputy chairman of the DPS parliamentary faction, on Bill Clinton's election victory, made to Yordanka Khristova and Svetla Nikolova; place and date not given: "Will the Presidential Change in the United States Affect Bulgaria?"]

[Text] Anastasiya Mozer, chief secretary of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]:

The results of the U.S. presidential election do not have the same importance for Bulgaria as they have for the United States. The U.S. attention toward Bulgaria is an attitude of an entire country, rather than of separate individuals or parties. It is no accident that in Bulgaria there are organizations of both the Republican and Democratic Parties, which are facilitating democratic reform in Bulgaria.

Therefore, we hope that also under the new administration the United States will continue to demonstrate its interest in the introduction of a market economy and will continue to provide financial assistance for our economy and agriculture, which are slowly undergoing a process of restoration.

Aleksandur Yordanov, chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]:

This is an important matter. From a historical point of view, the election of the new president could have a negative influence. Mr. Clinton's election campaign was based more on U.S. domestic problems, and how to resolve them. When someone begins to repair his own home, he forgets about his neighbor's home—and besides, we are not even neighbors. However, against the background of the present international political scene, the replacement of one president by another would hardly affect the geopolitical situation in a fatal manner. In any event, we at least expect that the United States will continue its policy of expanding the realm of democracy and democratic values throughout the world. Personally, I am very much pleased with Mr. Clinton's victory. It symbolizes a change, and the SDS has always supported change.

Nora Ananieva, chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and its coalition:

The present U.S. policy toward Bulgaria is stable and unaffected by factors such as a change of president. However, perhaps there will be a change in the ways and means of implementing U.S. policy. According to information I have received from a representative of a U.S. foundation, Mr. Clinton is being strongly supported by the U.S. Jewish and Greek lobbies. There are even Greeks in his closest circle.... In this context, experts from the aforementioned foundation think that perhaps the "Greek line" will strengthen. However, there will hardly be a radical change in our region....

Yunal Lyutfi, deputy chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]:

The United States is a great country. It has solid concepts and strategy in its foreign policy, which has been built up according to regions and countries. I think that the new occupant of the White House will adhere to that strategy. I do not think that, as a whole, there will be a change in the attitude toward our country....

Clinton's Foreign Policy Priorities Analyzed

AU0911144392 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Nov 92 p 7

[Commentary by Boris Spiridonov: "New President Will Follow American Tradition"]

[Text] Bill Clinton, the newly elected U.S. President, said in one of his four election speeches devoted to his eventual foreign policy: "Foreign policy aimed at defending democracy is neither liberal nor conservative. It is not the preserve of either the Republican or the Democratic Party. It is simply rooted in American traditions." Very soon he will have to assume the leadership of the world's most powerful country. According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was adviser on national security issues to the Democrat Carter, but supported the Republican Bush in 1988, both Bush and Clinton are "internationalists and traditionalists," and there is no danger of a future isolationism in U.S. foreign policy, prompted by dominating domestic policy issues of the election campaign.

It is expected that when he enters the White House in January, Clinton will continue the foreign policy course of the present administration. He will continue, and to judge from certain signs, he will increase support for the former communist countries in East Europe and the former USSR, in order to utilize the opportunity of "attaching Russia to the West so that it cannot plunder its neighbors," as Robert Hunter of the Center for International Strategic Research put it. It is expected that protecting human rights will dominate the future foreign policy line of the Clinton Administration. This will probably result in a firmer policy toward China, many Latin American countries, the friendly regimes of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, its ally, Turkey, because of its actions against the Kurds, and probably, toward former communist countries, in which dictatorial tendencies are evident along their road toward democracy. Therefore, pressure against Belgrade will increase. However, the possibility of involving U.S. troops on the slippery territory of former Yugoslavia is out of the question.

In any event, Clinton will insist on preserving the role of NATO in Europe. However, a rapid reduction of U.S. troops there to 75,000-100,000 is expected, rather than the 150,000 Bush envisaged. By 1997 the newly elected President will certainly decrease the U.S. military budget by 100 billion dollars instead of the 50 billion proposed by Bush. It is expected that Clinton will strongly support turning Germany and Japan into permanent members of the UN Security Council. The United States will maintain its support for the continuation of the Middle East peace talks. However, it is generally expected that it will slightly shift toward Israel and its policy in the region. Perhaps fate will play its worst joke on Saddam Husayn, who is most happy with Bush's election defeat.

No Change in U.S. Policy on Bulgaria Expected

AU0911164692 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 5 Nov 92 p 8

[Editorial: "Perhaps Clinton Will Look Toward Bulgaria"]

[Text] It is plausible to expect that Clinton's election as U.S. President would produce certain changes in the U.S. policy toward Bulgaria and the Balkans.

Those changes will not be rapid or especially radical. Traditionally, the Democratic Party attributes priority to U.S. domestic issues.

However, it is well-known that certain Bulgarian politicians (for example Mr. Trenchev) have solid relations with Democratic Party figures. Others, such as Mr. Savov, placed their bets on George Bush and the Republicans.

Regardless of how small Bulgaria is, someone somewhere in the White House corridors will pay attention to the small detail called Bulgaria.

In principle, the change of the ruling party is related to changes at the top of U.S. diplomacy. Only God and perhaps Mr. Clinton know whether the change will affect Bulgaria.

Clinton Victory Result of Desire for Change

AU0911164392 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5 Nov 92 p 6

[Commentary by Atanas Matev: "The Wind of Change"]

[Text] One year ago there was no doubt: George Bush was the next U.S. President. His popularity among his compatriots after the Gulf war reached almost totalitarian dimensions. There had been no such precedent in U.S. history.

However, since then Bush has known nothing but troubles. Things were obviously not going well. The President was not able to find a solution and thus succeeded in losing a battle he seemed to have already won. Again, there has been no such precedent in U.S. history.

Actually, now everything seems logical. Listening to the desire for change in other parts of the world, Bush failed to note this wind in his immediate proximity. This doomed him.

The wind of change in the United States began to blow when the country's economic situation deteriorated. The long rule of the Republicans with their liberal economic prescriptions rendered very contradictory results. After the period of ascent, the time to pay the price had come.

This price proved huge. A state debt of four trillion dollars. This debt rendered Bush helpless. He provided simple ideological answers to the need to make serious changes to the U.S. economy. This is unacceptable anywhere, and in the United States it is unpardonable.

The conviction that the time for a fundamental change had come assigned the office of president to Bill Clinton. The American people are full of determination to mark a new beginning. This is how he described in his own words what made him a winner in a struggle that only a few months ago was unequal in a discouraging manner.

The new beginning is yet to take place. However, it is clear that it is the pragmatist Clinton who defeated the ideologist Bush in the elections. This means that U.S. foreign policy will soon return to its natural state—a state of pragmatism.

Agrarian Parties Unite; Congress Ends

AU0811180892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 8 Nov 92

[Text] The Extraordinary Unification Congress of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] ended with the adoption of the charter and the program.

BZNS-United terminated its existence as a legal entity and together with the Nikola Petkov BZNS restored the BZNS, the sole successor of the Agrarian Union created by Aleksandur Stamboliyski.

The participants elected an Administrative Council, a Permanent Board, and a BZNS Supreme Control-Auditing Council.

Mrs. Anastasiya Mozer was elected BZNS chief secretary.

As of tomorrow only one ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME daily will appear. The newspaper masthead will be colored green.

Zhelev Greets Congress

AU0811184692 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 8 Nov 92

[Text] Sofia, November 8 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) is the legal assignee and political successor to the BZNS established in 1899, outlawed in 1934, restored in October 1944 and outlawed again in 1947 by the Act to Ban and Disband the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party under the communist regime. That was the key premise of the resolutions passed by the party's Extraordinary Reunification Congress at which the United Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party merged.

The congress voted for a programme of the Agrarian Party which says that the BZNS sets itself the task to help the country's progress to all-around and deep-going renewal.

In a message of greetings to the forum, President Zhelyu Zhelev pointed out that the congress "is a fine and all the more first example of a consolidation of agrarian forces, a bold step on the road to search for national understanding which is what Bulgaria needs most at present."

Mrs. Anastasiya Dimitrova-Mozer, so far leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, was elected chief secretary of the BZNS.

SDS Deputies Comment on Dimitrov Candidacy

AU0911204892 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Sofia, November 9 (BTA)—The four deputy floor leaders of the Parliamentary Group of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS): Mr. Edvin Sugarev, Mrs. Zlatka Ruseva, Mrs. Ekaterina Mikhaylova, and Mr. Ilian Shotlekov presented this afternoon the prime minister candidate of the SDS, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, to President Zhelyu Zhelev. Mr. Filip Dimitrov was the prime minister of the first government of the SDS.

President Zhelyu Zhelev intends to hold talks tomorrow with representatives of the two other parliamentary forces—The Bulgarian Socialist Party (the former Communist Party) and the ethnic Turks Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). According to the president's spokesman, Dr. Zhelev will most probably sign the decree assigning Filip Dimitrov to form a cabinet on Wednesday [11 November]. Under the Bulgarian Constitution, Filip Dimitrov will have seven days to form the new cabinet.

According to Mrs. Zlatka Ruseva, the representatives of the SDS and President Zhelev expressed the unanimous opinion that a cabinet should be formed as soon as possible. The participants in the talks said that the meeting passed in a calm and businesslike atmosphere. According to Mr. Edvin Sugarev, the meeting was a protocol one. The president's talks with the extraparliamentary forces were not commented. No names of future cabinet ministers were mentioned.

"We are well aware of the fact—and so are our partners and opponents—that at present only the SDS can undertake the responsibility for governing this country," Mr. Edvin Sugarev told the press. His personal opinion is that there are no guarantees whatsoever that the Movement for Rights and Freedoms will support a cabinet of Filip Dimitrov. According to Mr. Edvin Sugarev, the vote of the DPS would be of decisive importance in deciding whether to sign a political agreement between the SDS and the DPS. The election of the new cabinet will depend on the vote of the 24 MP's [members of parliament] of the DPS because the SDS does not hold the necessary majority in parliament.

Earlier today President Zhelev had lunch with National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov who is still floor leader of the Parliamentary Group of the SDS. After their meeting Dr. Zhelev and Mr. Yordanov told journalists that they are against the holding of early elections.

Trenchev Rejects Idea of New Dimitrov Cabinet

AU0911203392 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 4 Nov 92 pp 1,3

[Interview with Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by Lyudmila Videnova; place and date not given: "A New Filip Dimitrov Cabinet Would Be Illogical"]

[Text] [Videnova] Would you support another cabinet headed by Filip Dimitrov?

[Trenchev] Mr. Filip Dimitrov provided sufficient negative evidence of his abilities. Parliament has actually accused him of high treason following the incident with weapon deliveries to Macedonia. I do not see any logic in entrusting the formation of a new cabinet to an individual, who has been subject to a negative evaluation by the institution charged with controlling his activities.

In this particular case, parliament pronounced its negative assessment of the cabinet's activities, for which the prime minister is the chief person responsible.

I am talking about specific moral accusations against the prime minister, while he continues to hope for a new assignment. Truly, our country is about to provide a new precedent in worldwide politics, as a state which violates even the most elementary logical rules.

[Videnova] Mr. Trenchev, you are expected to meet the president for consultations on the formation of a new cabinet. What is the stance of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation?

[Trenchev] We shall not participate in the consultations as an actively involved side, but naturally we have our specific stance, as expressed in the trade unions' memorandum. We do not intend to propose any candidates for the composition of the new government, but we shall assist it by providing very precise proposals on the problems which we expect the cabinet to solve. Everything is contained in the memorandum we have submitted to parliament.

[Videnova] The trade unions have always been very concerned about economic problems and economic policy. The Podkrepa Labor Confederation, in particular, sharply criticized the government's economic team. Nevertheless, Mr. Kostov's nomination for the new cabinet is undoubted.

[Trenchev] In the past, we opposed the actions of the Pushkarov-Kostov team. Today there is a certain change in our relations with this economic team. In our opinion, Mr. Bikov accomplished several things of which we approve. He reached agreements with some trade union federations and some of his ideas could be implemented under the appropriate political circumstances.

As far as Mr. Kostov is concerned, we have not changed our negative attitude toward him. We simply cannot understand how some people can value his professional qualities. The economic indices could hardly have deteriorated more than they have under the finance minister. The negotiations with our creditors would not be interrupted, if he resigned....

[Videnova] Nevertheless, yesterday, following his meeting with Mr. Annoup Singh from the International Monetary Fund [IMF] , Minister Kostov declared that the IMF supports his economic policy.

[Trenchev] I can only say that Mr. Kostov's word of honor can hardly be trusted in that case. I must say that, in repeating his favorite sentence: "There is no money", he has omitted one important point, namely an explanation of why there is no money, and what he has done to change this situation. He never tells us how he has organized the structures placed under his control, how he has encouraged private, and even state enterprises, so that Bulgaria might finally start building up its economy. A degree of centralization, unprecedented even in the past, has been introduced under his administration. This is something very far removed from a market economy. Hence, our criticism against Mr. Kostov remains unchanged.

[Videnova] Would you accept the option of a coalition government between the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]?

[Trenchev] Why not? Both are political structures with similar ideas. If such a decision should be reached.... Nevertheless, I think that the relations between the SDS and the DPS could be smoothed over even without searching for the formula of a coalition government. It would be sufficient to have a responsible and competent cabinet. Such a cabinet should demonstrate an honest attitude to the nearly three million-strong electorate of the SDS and DPS together. It should submit an unmistakable and specific program on its intentions and ideas about the way it intends to rule the country.

[Videnova] What are your forecasts about the future cabinet?

[Trenchev] Things are already so mixed up that I do not like to make forecasts. I can hardly see the situation clearly myself. Emotions are prevailing over pragmatism. Some politicians consider themselves irreplaceable and infallible. There is no elite of experienced politicians in our country.

I am convinced that a new cabinet could be composed of individuals who are not necessarily members of parliament. I am convinced that there are competent figures among the SDS and DPS electorate. It is my opinion that the government should be totally regenerated.

Minister Knazko Discusses Gabcikovo, Separation

AU0911215192 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 9 Nov 92 p 3

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by Wolfgang Boehm in Vienna; date not given: "Slovakia: 'Perhaps Gabcikovo Was a Mistake'"]

[Text] [Boehm] Mr. Foreign Minister, the discussion about the Gabcikovo Danube power plant has led to a serious crisis in relations between Hungary and Slovakia. Can a republic, which is striving for independence, afford such tensions with a neighboring country?

[Knazko] Over the past 40 years we have grown accustomed to crises. Hungary is pursuing a tough attitude, which makes a compromise impossible. The Danube is an international river. The barrage plants, which have already been built, make it necessary to develop the Danube further in order to prevent dangers to the ecosystem. This applies, for instance, to pebble erosion. If the water level is not raised, Bratislava will be in acute danger. We are now waiting for the studies by EC experts. This is a discussion that must be held by experts. It may have been our mistake that we continued to build the power plant after 1977, that is, that we started to implement the contract with Hungary. When the Hungarians withdrew in 1989, we had already finished 95 percent of the plant.

[Boehm] What will Slovakia contribute to solving the conflict?

[Knazko] In any case, we will respect the decisions of the EC Commission and of the International Court of Justice. We have committed ourselves to suspending work for the time being, apart from work linked with securing the construction.

[Boehm] Is there the danger of a nationality conflict between Hungary and Slovaks?

[Knazko] It would be wrong to claim that the problem of nationalism does not exist. We must work out in a serious way where this problem comes from. Therefore, we suggest that a group of experts from the Council of Europe deal with this question in order to make the discussion more businesslike. This is precisely where the danger of political demagoguery lies and an abuse of this problem.

[Boehm] Meciar has promised to close down the nuclear power plant on Bohunice, if the Gabcikovo power plant is put into operation. Do you welcome this announcement?

[Knazko] This is a rather one-sided point of view. Meciar's statements are to be seen rather symbolically. Our country is struggling with energy problems. One cannot make such barter deals.

[Boehm] If you faced the decision of whether or not to build the Gabcikovo power plant today, what would you do?

[Knazko] It is difficult to answer this question. One must be aware of the ramifications. If I had previously signed an international treaty with a friendly country, I would build it again. Because one must fulfill international agreements. But perhaps today we would not sign this agreement at all. Gabcikovo is always presented as the result of communist planning. However, I attended the opening of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal, and compared with this enormous thing, Gabcikovo is negligible.

[Boehm] The separation of the CSFR has not yet been negotiated completely. What major problems still exist between Prague and Bratislava?

[Knazko] The question of citizenship has not yet been fully discussed. There will probably also be small disagreements and problems about dividing the property. I think that we will be generous enough to come to an agreement on these issues.

[Boehm] Is separation the goal of your aspirations?

[Knazko] We advocated a confederation. This confederation was rejected on the grounds that our partner (the Czech Government) would prefer two independent states. Another option was the return to centralism, which has existed as a so-called "federation" in Czechoslovakia since 1968. We could not accept this. In some years both republics will perhaps be integrated into Europe. The model of the new relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics corresponds to those within the EC and of the treaties concluded in Maastricht. It is difficult to predict what the relationship between our two republics will be some years ahead. Mutual economic contacts between Prague and Bratislava will exist for as long as they are mutually beneficial.

Knazko Meets With Austrian Foreign Minister

WA1211142092

For reportage on the talks in Vienna by Foreign Minister Knazko with Austrian Foreign Minister Mock, including Knazko's comments on the Gabcikovo dam project, see the Austria section of the 10 November West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Klaus Views 9 Nov Czech-Slovak Talks

LD0911223392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1716 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Opening statment by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus at news conference at conclusion of Czech-Slovak intergovernmental talks in Zidlochovice—live]

[Text] Good evening. I would like to tell you briefly about the contents of today's talks, and the conclusions we have reached in the negotiations.

Today's talks concerned the next series of agreements, which need to be concluded between the Czech and Slovak Republics so that both can start functioning on 1 January 1993.

We have also discussed a number of other topics connected with the end of the Czechoslovak Federation and a host of other things. I would like to list the agreements, which we have agreed on, and in fact approved, today. They are now ready to be officially signed. These are:

First, the draft agreement on good-neighborliness, friendly relations, and cooperation. This is a framework, a general kind of agreement. We have signed. . [pauses] we have approved several agreements in the field of finance. They are, first, the draft agreement to prevent double taxation in income and property tax. This will prevent people from being taxed twice when they receive remuneration in one of the republics, and so on. We have also signed a similar...[pauses] not signed, approved an agreement to prevent double taxation under inheritance and gift taxes.

We have approved the draft intergovernmental agreement on the mutual support and protection of investments. That is another run-of-the-mill finance agreement. What was very important was to approve the agreement on mutual settlement of some relations regarding foreign bills of exchange once the federation ends.

We have approved an agreement on cooperation in transport and communication. We have approved an agreement on cooperation and mutual relations in agriculture, food industry, forests, and water management. This is more or less a document that belongs to the sphere of the agreement on the customs union [words indistinct].

We have not yet approved, or rather not fully resolved—I think, however, that we have arrived at a basis for a solution—the way in which the issue of customs and tax will be dealt with. We were unable to complete negotiations on that today.

We also approved the draft agreement on the settlement of relations in the wake of the division of the Czechoslovak Army and the transfer of property, rights, obligations, and future cooperation of the two republics' armies. But we have not succeeded in reaching the final agreement in the area of defense where several new problems have cropped up.

Several smaller issues still remain unsolved. We have agreed, we have noted that our stands toward the division of assets are now closer to a certain extent, and I have to say that the Czech side expressed general agreement with the comments of the Slovak Government on that document, which is already in the Federal Assembly. This, I think, indicates certain good prospects for this document to be passed in the Federal Assembly.

I have two more news items for you, besides the date of the next meeting. The first is interesting and definite—at least as interesting as what I have been saying so far: The two sides agreed on an immediate and final launching of a tax reform on 1 January 1993 on the territory of the entire present Czechoslovakia.

Another item, which might be of interest: As we currently we do not consider it appropriate to have the significant documents signed by representatives of the Federal Government instead of representatives of the republics' governments, we agreed not to sign an agreement on free trade between the so-called Visegrad Triangle countries this year. We will delay its signing until after the split of the Federation, after 1 January 1993—i.e. we do not intend to sign this document in Krakow on 28 November.

We will communicate this information to our partners in this group of states very soon.

ODU Urges Boycott of Referendum on State Setup

LD0911161992 Prague CSTK in English 1406 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 9 (CSTK)—Civic Democratic Union (ODU) Chairman Martin Porubjak today called for a boycott of a referendum on Czechoslovakia's state setup as it gives citizens no chance to influence the virtual breakup of the Czechoslovak federation envisaged in January.

The only responsible position of a citizen is therefore absence from such nationwide voting. We appeal to democratically minded people not to take part in such a referendum, Porubjak said at a press conference here.

According to the question proposed by the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), there would be actually two referendums, Porubjak said. In the first part of the question the citizen learns that it is about the state setup, but is not told the options, while in the second part the citizen learns that he lives in an independent state without having decided beforehand, and is expected to say whether he wishes any agreements with the closest neighbouring state, Porubjak explained.

According to HZDS spokesman Bohuslav Geci, a possible question in a referendum could be whether the citizens of Slovakia agree with the state setup agreed on by the Czech and Slovak political parties.

Referring to last week's talks between the second strongest party in Slovakia, the Democratic Left Party (SDL), and other parties, Porubjak said the ODU welcomes the SDL's initiative in criticising the government. We are convinced, however, that the alternative offered by the SDL threatens with the setting up of a sort of "national salvation front" which makes no difference between leftist and rightist approaches to solving economic and social problems, Porubjak said.

The ODU, now without representation in the parliament, is a successor to the Public Against Violence (VPN) which was the leading political force in Slovakia after November 1989 fall of communist rule in Czechoslovakia and a landslide winner of the 1990 elections in the Slovak Republic.

Czech Government Completes Draft of Constitution

AU0911171092 Prague CSTK in English 1915 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 5 (CSTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today told journalists that the government draft for a Czech constitution has been completed.

After an extraordinary government session on Sunday [8 November], Klaus said he would like the constitution to be approved before January 1, 1993, when the Czechoslovak Federation will split into the Czech and the Slovak Republics. The Slovak Republic has already adopted its Constitution. It took effect on October 1.

Today Klaus said that the second house of the Czech parliament, Senate, to be set up when the Czech Republic becomes independent on January 1, 1993, will be elected for six years, with one-third of its deputies being altered every two years. This variant was agreed on for the elections to the Senate to be held simultaneously with elections to the House of Representatives or with local elections, Klaus said.

In an interview with CSTK, Czech Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda, chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), said the coalition has not yet reached agreement on the way of electing the first Czech president and setting up the first Senate.

He said that once agreement is reached, the ways of election will be defined in temporary provisions of the constitution or in a special law. Kalvoda said the government draft will probably be passed to the Czech parliament only next week, but not later than Tuesday morning. Under the draft the president will have the right to return to the parliament only draft constitutional laws. An absolute majority of the vote of all deputies in both houses will be required for a draft constitutional law to be passed.

If a law is rejected by the Senate or if a constitutional law is returned by the president, it will need a more qualified majority, Kalvoda said. He did not rule the possibility that the majorities necessary for particular cases will still be changed during parliamentary debate on the draft constitution. I think the parliament will conduct many discussions on this question, he said.

The opposition has insisted on a three-fifths majority of votes to be necessary for draft laws to be approved because the coalition parties can easily secure an absolute for their bills, without the opposition.

Under previous drafts, the Senate was to have 80 members, one-half of whom would be altered every four years. As the election term of senators is to be six years under the final government draft, the number will be 81 so that it be divisible by three. Senators must be over 40 years of age. They are to be elected directly by citizens.

The presidential term is to be five years and no one can be elected for more than two terms in succession, Kalvoda said.

Parliament Rejects Law on Secret Service Division

AU0911171492 Prague CSTK in English 2022 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Excerpt] Prague, Nov 5 (CSTK)—[passage omitted] In debate on the Czechoslovak Government program, mainly deputies from opposition parties took part.

Zdenek Jicinsky (CSSD) [Czechoslovak Social Democracy] said the government parties that have agreed to liquidate the state, have not sufficiently considered the whole process. The government does not apply constitutional means in dividing the federation, he said. Milos Zeman (CSSD) also accused the government of acting in an unconstitutional way when it insists on the division of Czechoslovakia. Karol Stome (ODS) [Civic Democratic Party] countered saying that in a situation for which we also may be responsible, the government is behaving in a most cultivated way. He added that though speakers criticize the government, none of them has today proposed how the Federal Government should function.

Ivan Svitak (LB) [Left Bloc] spoke about a crisis of nonpolitical policy, an idea which had been coined by former Czechoslovak president Vaclav Havel. Criticizing the illusion of building or restoring capitalism, he said that freedom of trade is built up on the disruption of the state.

Josef Krejsa (SPR-RSC) [Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia] asked whether the country needs a government whose tasks could be performed by a group of grave-diggers.

In his final speech, Premier Jan Strasky warned against delaying the creation of new states—Czech and Slovak, which could adversely affect the society.

After the parliament failed to approve the program, a debate started on whether this was not tantamount to a no-confidence in the government. This interpretation was rejected by a majority of the deputies-lawyers present. With regard to the fact that the rejection of the extended government program has no legal impact, the parliament did not continue discussing the document.

Also today, the parliament approved a government program of measures to prevent an uncontrollable and unconstitutional end to the Czechoslovak Federation, currently scheduled to expire as of January 1, 1993. The measures were approved by the Federal Government October 14.

The parliament failed to approve a deputies' draft law on abolishing the Federal Security and Information Service (FBIS) which is to cease operations as of January 1, 1993, when the federation will split. The draft did not obtain the necessary number of votes in the 75-seat Slovak part of the House of Nations. Only 28 out of the 48 present deputies voted for it, while at least 38 votes are required for the draft to be passed.

In the 75-seat Czech part of the house, the draft was supported by 39 out of the 57 present deputies. In the 150-seat House of the People it was supported by 62 out of the 107 deputies present. On Wednesday [4 November], the draft was rejected by both the Czech and Slovak parts of the House of Nations, due to totally different stands of the ODS and the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] on a proposal by deputy Karol Stome (ODS). He demanded that information in FBIS registers be divided between the successor states to Czechoslovakia on the basis of an agreement reached by the republic governments.

The original draft proposed division of FBIS documents according to the place of origin. As the draft law was not approved even after the second vote, a commission of arbitration will resume its work.

The parliament will continue its session on Wednesday November 11.

Parties Appeal to Klaus, Havel To Cooperate

AU0911170492 Prague CSTK in English 1746 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 5 (CSTK)—Leaders of the Club of Committed Nonparty Members (KAN), not represented in parliament, and the Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) said today that the main issue is not how the new Czech president will be elected, but if Vaclav Havel and the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS) can reach agreement.

Josef Lux (KDU-CSL) and Bohdan Dvorak (KAN), speaking at both parties' first joint press conference, said their cooperation stemmed from their shared positions on many issues, as well as the conviction about the need to integrate all conservative parties in the interest of safeguarding democracy in the Czech Republic.

It would be unfortunate, if relations between (Czech Premier and ODS Chairman) Vaclav Klaus and Vaclav Havel came to a confrontation, which would be a general political confrontation. It would be foolishness not only on the part of both men, but on the part of the forces which support them, said Lux.

Lux said the KAN and KDU-CSL agreed on the questions of the new tax system to be introduced on January 1, 1993 and the necessity of cooperating at the local level. He said both shared the common goal of denouncing communist ideology and would propose a bill in parliament on anticommunist resistance.

Our aim is that there be two blocs of parties to the right of the political center in this country, which is a so-called party with liberal tendencies, which the ODS is rapidly drifting towards, and a party with a Christian orientation with a certain moral and ethical appeal on the practical conducting of policy, said Dvorak.

KAN will cooperate in this respect with small parties or individuals at the local level.

Both 1993 Czech Budget Options Foresee Deficit

AU0911164492 Prague CSTK in English 1507 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 4 (CSTK)— The Czech Republic has two variants of its 1993 budget, one reckoning with the introduction of a new tax system as of January 1 and the other assuming that new taxes will not be introduced in the course of next year, director of the Czech Finance Ministry State Budget Department Eduard Janota told CSTK today.

The first variant envisages a deficit of about 20 to 30,000 million crowns (over 1,000 million USD [U.S. dollars]). According to Janota, it takes into account possible risks in collecting the value-added tax—VAT (to be introduced with the new system) due to a lack of knowledge both among the payers and collectors.

Janota added that almost all countries had similar problems in introducing VAT, and that also the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has warned Czechoslovakia of this fact.

The second variant, based on the existing tax system, envisages a moderate deficit which should not exceed 5,000 million crowns (about 190 million USD). No provisional budget is being considered, Janota said.

As of January 1, 1993, Czechoslovakia is to be divided into independent Czech and Slovak Republics, each preparing its own state budget. In the past week, voices started to be heard suggesting that the introduction of the new tax system might be postponed, often arguing with the unpreparedness of revenue departments in Slovakia. They also say it would be difficult to simultaneously execute two such complex acts as the introduction of a new taxation system and division of the state.

An ultimate reply to the question whether the new system will be launched January 1 or postponed should be given at a meeting of the national (Czech and Slovak) governments in Zidlochovice, South Moravia, on November 9.

Ministry Protests FRY Fees for Use of Danube

LD0911203192 Budapest MTI in English 1859 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—Protests over the Belgrade Government's unilateral announcement of charges for using the Danube, which runs counter to international law, came from the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, MTI was told on Monday [9 November]. The ministry is considering measures to promote free navigation on the Danube, and wants to convene the Danube Commission for a special meeting.

The Federal Belgrade Government has unilaterally decided to charge a passage fee for foreign ships using the Danube as of November 8. The fee may exceed USD [U.S. dollars] 2,000 per boat.

According to the 1948 Belgrade Convention on the order of navigation on the Danube, ways of collecting shipping fees are determined by the Danube Commission. Article 42 states that the Danube is an international waterway and passing ships must not be charged any kind of fee.

Central Bank To Devalue Forint 1.9 Percent

AU1011102192 Budapest MTI in English 1642 GMT 8 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, 8 Nov (MTI)—Hungary's central bank is to devalue the forint by 1.9 per cent against the currency basket as of 9 November. The decision was announced by National Bank of Hungary spokesman Janos Zadori on Sunday [8 November].

The step is in accord with the current exchange rate policy of introducing changes in exchange rates according to currency market processes. Reasons for the present change are external and domestic prices shaping differently and recent changes in exchange rates on the currency market.

Finance Ministry Issues Report on Economy

LD1011095192 Budapest MTI in English 0732 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, November 10 (MTI)—A five-per-cent drop in Hungary's GDP [gross domestic product] in real terms for this year is forecast by a Finance Ministry report based on August and September figures. The current account surplus was USD [U.S. dollars] 770 million at the end of August, the report says, predicting it will reach USD 800 million by year end.

Foreign capital investment is put at USD 2.5 billion over the first eight months, including cash investments of USD 930 million while the country's debt service was USD 2.66 billion in the first eight months, partly financed from working capital inflow and partly from the current account surplus.

The report puts the country's tourist balance surplus at USD 340 million, the surplus of unrequited transfers at USD 520 million and the surplus of services at USD 100 million.

Foreign trade calculated on the basis of customs statistics showed a deficit of USD 441 million at the end of September, following an increase of USD 160 million during the month of September. These statistics take into account all merchandise movements across the border. Another statistical approach, which only considers merchandise movements involving money movements, showed a surplus of USD 636 million at the end of August (no figure is available for September yet), as compared to a surplus of USD 695 million in the previous two months.

The report suggests that export growth is slowing, while the composition of imports indicates that the Hungarian economy is heading for recovery. Unemployment was 619,000, or 11.4 per cent, at the end of September. Finance Ministry analysts say the growth in unemployment is slowing and predict an unemployment figure of 700,000 by year end.

Industrial producer's prices rose by 1.4 per cent in August, while consumer prices went up by 2.4 per cent in September. The Finance Ministry maintains its prediction of a 10-12 per-cent annual increase in producer's prices and 23-per-cent consumer inflation for 1992.

According to the report, personal savings continue to grow, with an increase of HUF [Hungarian forint] 230 billion recorded in the first nine months. Total gross savings currently amount to HUF 820 billion.

National Debt Decreases; Bank Reserves Rise

AU0911132292 Budapest MTI in English 0724 GMT 6 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, 6 November (MTI)—Hungary raised fewer loans this year, than it has repaid. This was one factor contributing to a major decline in the net debt stock, the vice-president of the Hungarian National Bank (MNB), Frigyes Harshegyi, told MTI.

At the end of 1991, Hungary's net debt stock was $14.8 billion, as against the current [figure] of around $13 billion. Meanwhile, reserves of the MNB rose from $4 billion last year, to 5 billion this year.

The explanation is that surpluses have been registered in foreign trade and tourism, and the flow of working capital to the country continues to be significant. At the end of August, the surplus of the current balance of payments was around $800 million, and is expected to surpass $1 billion by the end of the year. Working capital invested in the form of cash is expected to reach last year's level, that is $1.5 billion.

The country's debt service obligation this year was $2.5 billion. As compared to this, the MNB raised loans of

some $1.3-1.5 billion. Loans valued at some $900 million originated from the issuing of bonds.

This year, the MNB issued four bonds abroad: at a value of 30 billion yen in Japan, 600 million German marks in Germany, 600 million schillings in Austria, and $200 million in the United States.

Originally, it was expected the country would receive $1 billion in loans from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Common Market, and other institutional sources. However, less was raised, partly because the MNB called down only the 1992 tranche of the medium-range credit due this year from the IMF.

During the year, the budget deficit far surpassed the planned and that set down in the three-year programme concluded with the IMF. Accordingly, the sides have suspended calling down and granting the further tranches. Talks with the IMF are expected to continue in the matter after Hungarian Parliament approves the 1993 budget law.

Defense Minister on Reorganization, Europe Ties

LD0611220192 Budapest MTI in English 1136 GMT 6 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, November 6 (MTI)—The Hungarian Army plans to create 12-14 territorial protection units which share similarities with the Swiss and the Austrian militia systems, Hungarian Minister of Defence Lajos Fur said on Friday [6 November], the closing day of the Budapest Congress of the European Military Press Association (EMPA), in Budapest. Speaking at a press conference, the minister also said the first such brigade is currently holding an exercise in eastern Hungary.

The creation of airborne troops has also begun, and the long-term military-technology development concept running until 2010 has also been prepared. However, this can only be realized if the Hungarian economy begins to develop.

Answering questions, the minister of defence said the special training of a company for peace-keeping tasks on the basis of UN demands will begin next year, based on foreign experiences.

As regards relations with NATO, it was reported that the conditions of membership are not given from either side. Hungary also attaches major importance to contacts with the Western European Union, and to European security cooperation.

Energy Plan Stresses Diversification, Investment

AU0511133692 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Nov 92 p 19

[Report by Judit Kozma: "Government Concludes Energy Policy—The Role of the State in Energy Supply"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The diversification of energy supplies is one of the main strategic goals of national energy policy. More than half of the energy consumed comes from imports and this high percentage cannot be reduced, even over the long term. This in itself would not be a problem but, as a result of previous unilateral development projects, our imports are unilateral. Most of our energy resources come from the former Soviet Union. This dependence makes our economy highly vulnerable. In the long run, our integration with the Western European energy systems could considerably reduce this dependence, but we can only join this system after diversifying our energy consumption. This is an important argument in favor of a new power station. According to the energy plan, we will have to decide on a new basic power station soon but first we must carry out a public debate on the station's location and type of fuel.

The energy policy also has a considerable task in diversifying the hydrocarbons supply where our foreign dependence is particularly high. Some 60 percent of our eight million tonnes of oil consumed [no timeframe specified] comes from imports. We currently import oil from two politically unstable regions: the former Soviet Union through the Friendship Pipeline and from elsewhere through the Adria Pipeline, which has been closed for quite some time now. On a short-term basis, we must also prepare for a smooth supply of oil even if these two sources stop deliveries simultaneously. For this, we need to set up new storage tanks and to expand our pipeline connections with the neighboring countries that are willing to develop mutual assistance with us.

The security of our natural gas supply also requires expansion of our pipeline system. Current consumption stands at about 11 billion cubic meters, and this amount could increase by 10 to 25 percent by the end of the century. Domestic production provides about 6 billion cubic meters and imports will continue to increase. Currently, we only receive natural gas from the regions of the former Soviet Union. Several solutions can be considered here, such as relating the privatization of natural gas delivery to the obligation of the new owners to guarantee new sources of supplies. [passage omitted]

The energy policy plan recommends spending an average of 65-70 billion forints annually for our energy development projects. For example, the gas-turbine development projects needed for a flexible supply of electric power will cost 30-40 billion forints; our connection to the Western European energy systems will cost 15-20 billion forints; and our environmental protection investments will cost 40-50 billion forints. We need 100-160 billion forints for the construction of a power plant. The construction of petroleum pipelines costs 10-20 billion forints; the secondary petroleum processing technology costs 60-70 billion forints; the development of hydrocarbon exploitation requires 50-75 billion forints, and the construction of underground natural gas storage facilities calls for 30-40 billion forints. The purchase and storage of strategic petroleum reserves requires 40-45

billion forints and the closure of coal mines will cost 25 billion forints. [passage omitted]

Official's State of Emergency Remark Examined

AU0911090592 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 3 Nov 92 p 5

[Report by Szabo: "Did Ivan Baba Let His Tongue Slip?—A State of Emergency Could Be Declared"]

[Excerpts] Why did the Foreign Affairs Ministry's deputy state secretary [Ivan Baba] say in his inaugural speech after being accepted into the party [Hungarian Democratic Forum, MDF] that there was a revolutionary situation in Hungary and that the MDF should be developed into a revolutionary party? Why does he think that—as one of the daily newspapers already reported last week—even a general strike could tip the wheel of Hungarian politics from its track? According to Ivan Baba, the government has to make an unexpected decision in such a situation. In other words, it can declare the state of emergency, and then there is little chance of holding elections in Hungary in 1994.

We wanted to get an explanation for the statement from Ivan Baba himself, but the new member of the leading government party sent a message with his secretary saying that he did not wish to "give interviews to any newspapers."

We inquired with legal experts about the constitutional basis of the high-ranking foreign affairs officials's remark on introducing a state of emergency. The experts clearly termed Baba's hints as a "slip of the tongue" or "message," and they said that legally, it would not be impossible to implement it. [passage omitted]

According to the legal experts, the constitutional basis of what Baba is talking about are the rules on the state of emergency. Armed action to overthrow the constitutional order or to seize sole power, or armed serious and violent action that endangers the safety of the life and property of large masses can be found here.

Therefore, what Ivan Baba is talking about is possible to cleverly generate with youth armed with sticks and chains who go to the streets of some larger towns and create disorder, shouting against the president and the government, thus exhausting the condition in the Constitution's Item 19, Paragraph (3), Point i).

In such a case, parliament has to decide with a two-thirds qualified majority whether to declare a state of emergency. [passage omitted]

Government, Solidarity End Negotiations

LD0911171192 Warsaw PAP in English 1448 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—Plenary talks between the government, the Solidarity trade union and representatives of employers on "the enterprise pact" ended here on Monday [9 November]. A closing document of agreements and disagreements will be drawn up on Tuesday.

The document can be signed not earlier than next week after the Solidarity statutory body and the Confederation of Polish Employers have adopted it.

Solidarity negotiator Ewa Tomaszewska said that Solidarity will find it most difficult to accept the results of the talks on economic issues, like excess wage tax. Solidarity wanted to abolish the tax, while the government proposed to introduce its substantial cuts.

Deputy Labour Minister Andrzej Baczkowski said that a compromise has been reached on most of the discussed topics and all sides "have a chance of success". He promised the government will submit to the Sejm a package of draft laws on "the enterprise pact" after the document is adopted by the union and employers organization.

Third Largest Parliamentary Group Forms

AU0911174092 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 6 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, November 6—The Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD), the Polish Economic Programme (PPG) and the liberal faction of the Centre Alliance (PC) on Friday [6 November] decided to establish a joint parliamentary floor group to include 53 deputies.

The new parliamentary floor group acts as a federation and does not have a name yet. It will be the third grouping in the Sejm as regards the number of its members.

Leaders of the KLD, PPG and the liberal faction of the PC stated that the decision to set up a new caucus was the first step towards the creation of a big centre-right grouping in the Sejm, which does not, however, mean the end of the small coalition.

Leader of the parliamentary floor group of the KLD Jan Pamula said that the caucus "still wanted to cooperate with the Democratic Union (UD) as a stable partner, which opts for reforming the country and economy."

He added that talks with the Polish Convention on its possible joining the new federation have also been held and would be continued.

Deputy Andrzej Urbanski from the PC announced that the creation of the new floor group would mean quitting the PC by five deputies, including him, Jerzy Eysymontt, Jozef Orzel, Marian Przybylowicz and Maciej Zalewski. He added that for this group it was essential to create such a parliamentary configuration which would for the first time propose a distinct alternative for pro-capitalist reforms.

Commentator Analyzes Clinton's Election Success

AU0911151292 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7-8 Nov 92 p 7

[Commentary by Dawid Warszawski: "The Economy, Stupid"]

[Text] These words on the poster in Clinton's campaign headquarters in Little Rock were meant to remind the Democrat candidate of what President Bush had most obviously forgotten about, that voters are guided more by the state of their wallets than assessments of political programs or candidates' personalities.

The twelve years that the Republicans spent in power began with the crushing campaign run by Ronald Reagan, who attacked the president at the time, the Democrat Carter, for the catastrophic economic situation in which the country found itself. The recession and inflation, said the Republican, were the result of an erroneous policy and state interventionism.

With fewer taxes, less of the state, more room for maneuver for private entrepreneurs, declared Reagan, the free market will regulate the situation in a natural manner. The Americans believed him and the Reagan boom began.

It lasted until the end of the first half of the 1980's and made some private businessmen distinctly more wealthy, but also led to an increase in poverty and social inequality. Toward the end of the 1980's, it became increasingly apparent that the boom was based on credit: The deficit doubled and reached a level of 60 percent of GNP [Gross National Product] , the dollar weakened and so did the economy. A significant section of society came to believe that neither they nor their children could expect guarantees that their standard of living would be maintained, let alone expect it to rise.

At the same time, the Democrats drew conclusions from Carter's defeat. Following a brief period of a marked shift to the left (Jesse Jackson's "rainbow" coalition of all the minorities), they returned to a centrist course. They adopted confidence in the role of the free market from the Republican's program, while nevertheless retaining their belief in the basic welfare and interventionist functions of the state. This cocktail turned out to be a winner.

For a long time the Democrats did not want to believe it themselves. Clinton became a candidate because none of the big names in the party wanted to run against Bush, the Gulf War victor and president of the end of the cold war. Just a year ago, it was generally believed that Bush had his reelection well in hand and the halting of the recession bolstered that conviction. Only the governor of

Arkansas, a relative political debutante, was prepared to risk defeat in the election race.

But, perhaps at least in part, Clinton might owe his success to being on the national political scene a short time. His victory is a triumph of the 40-year-olds, who are tired of the torpor of the traditional establishment and thirsty for dynamism and change. "Clinton," said one commentator with a degree of overstatement," is "the Kennedy of our generation." The new president is trying hard to merit such a comparison.

However, Clinton differs from his political idol in the relatively lower status that he accorded international affairs in his election campaign. Following Bush's active involvement in such matters, this signifies an important change and arouses concerns in many diplomatic chancelleries. That is unfair.

Bush's foreign policy, like his economic policy, was based on credit. It is difficult to consider the collapse of communism his achievement: Communism collapsed under the combined impact of the policies of the president's great predecessor and its own unresolved contradictions. The Gulf war ended in partial success, and the effects of that are still haunting the world today. Bush was wildly wrong in his assessment of the prospects for survival that multinational communist states had, and the new world order that he praised never came into being. Finally, American diplomacy displayed an exceptional lack of imagination regarding the Yugoslav war, the first great crisis of the postcommunist period. (It is worth remembering that during his campaign Clinton came out in favor of limited U.S. military intervention in defense of Sarajevo.) It was only in the Middle East that Bush—and actually it was his secretary of state, James Baker—scored success, but Carter scored an incomparably greater success in this area before, and also lost nevertheless.

But it was not international setbacks, but economic stagnation that was the nail in the coffin of both Carter and Bush. That was enough to make Americans vote for Clinton, who now faces the enormous task of translating preelection promises into the language of concrete measures. One should wish him success, not only out of fondness for the Americans, but also because only an economically stable America will be in a position to effectively pursue an international policy that is equal to the challenges of the times; without that, it would be difficult to count on the alleviation of conflicts, including those in our part of the world.

It would be a good thing if the 42d president of the United States were to take along that poster from his campaign headquarters when he goes to the White House.

U.S. Election: Ties With State, Not Individual

AU0911150292 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Commentary by Lech Lewandowski: "A President of a New Era"]

[Text] "The people have voted for a new beginning" said Bill Clinton, announcing his victory to a crowd of supporters outside the headquarters of the state authorities in Little Rock, Arkansas. That single sentence says everything. It encapsulates the entire election campaign, and explains why the elections ended the way they did. The 46-year old Bill Clinton extolled the need to write a new chapter in America's history and reconstruct most of all its economy, and therefore its power. And Clinton penetrated the hearts of Americans who, as he himself said, voted for this new beginning "with great hope and courage in their hearts."

Of course, the slogan "new beginning" cannot be given a literal interpretation. The powerful ship of the United States cannot suddenly turn back. In any case, there is no need to do so. Clinton's victory will not demolish the old order and create a completely new one in its place. No doubt the next government will continue the strategic line developed by the previous one. The United States is a key world power, pursuing a global policy that cannot be subjected to excessive fluctuations. We ought to bear that in mind, especially when we wonder how the result of the American elections might influence our own affairs.

So the new beginning is something different. What it means is that the era of leaders like Reagan or Bush is over. The fact that Bush was a heroic World War II pilot and a model father and citizen was still very important a few years ago, but it was no longer enough to beat Clinton who, by the way, makes no attempt to hide the fact that he deviates somewhat from this pattern. Likewise, Bush's foreign policy successes—the fact that the Berlin Wall was demolished during his presidency, the cold war ended, further nuclear disarmament took place, and so on— was insufficient for the voters.

The Americans voted for Clinton because wartime heroism no longer has any message for them. They no longer fear any communist power, so their interest in Eastern policy has also waned. In a nutshell, with their vote they showed that they want a man of a new, different era. That man represents a time now dawning on us, a time of military detente, but also of an increased struggle on a different plane. The Americans want the White House to be occupied by someone who knows how to handle the enormous budget deficit that exceeds $4 trillion. The interest on this deficit alone amounts to well over $200 billion. Thirty-seven million Americans have no medical insurance, and the number is increasing by 100,000 every month.

These and other problems require urgent solutions and determined activity. That is what Clinton professes.

That is why the reaction to the American presidential election has been cool in some countries, for instance Japan, where it is believed that under the new American government a sharp economic clash may occur between the two countries. The reaction among South Korean business circles is similar. Everyone simply believes Clinton will fight for U.S. economic interests more effectively than his predecessor. That is what the Americans want.

President George Bush enjoyed not only our great respect, but also warm feelings from us. That was particularly evident during his visit to Warsaw. Memories of the warm welcome he received on the banks of the Vistula remain vivid, but one must remember that relations of friendship and confidence are maintained with a country. A politician merely represents that country. That is why the departure of a distinguished politician cannot mean a change in relations between the two countries, especially when the success of our transformations largely depends on the good quality of these relations. Therefore we shall continue to develop close cooperation with the United States. In this context, the visit to the United States by National Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the first such visit since the presidential elections, assumes symbolic proportions and commences a new chapter in these relations.

Commentary Hails Defense Doctrine Decisions

AU0811162392 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 3 Nov 92 p 1

[Commentary by Tadeusz Mitek: "An Exclusively Polish Doctrine"]

[Text] We are formulating Polish security policy and the defense (military) doctrine linked to it under entirely new geopolitical and geomilitary circumstances. It is the first doctrine to be realized in a situation in which our state enjoys complete sovereignty. It is solely derived from the national raison d'etat and not from commitments imposed by the Warsaw Pact. The fundamental assumption underlying it is that sovereignty, obtained through struggle, should be defended, and that state security encompasses both military questions as well as political, economic, ecological, and social considerations.

The commencement of work on a precise definition of security policy does not mean that we have identified some avowed adversary outside our borders. We also do not envision the possibility that total war will erupt within the foreseeable future. We are, however, taking account of the possibility that the destabilization in our part of Europe will increase and that local conflicts, which may spill over into Polish territory, might break out on our borders. We believe that in such a situation we should be able to immediately launch defensive-offensive operations on our own, without involving foreign states. We are developing our own military potential and state defense system with this end in mind.

The basic principles underlying the restructuring of the Polish Army and its balanced deployment throughout the territory of the entire country are designed to ensure the ability to provide defense in all directions in the event of a local conflict and to check an aggressor in the event of an all-out conflict. At the same time, we are striving to attain an organizational and technical standard in the Army that will enable us to enter NATO military structures in the future.

It can be stated with satisfaction that both processes—conceptual work on security policy and on army reform—have recently gained momentum and constitute a single coherent set of coordinated activities. This could not have been stated a few months ago, when disputes about authority were in progress between the agencies established to direct the Armed Forces.

The ability to formulate and consistently implement a cohesive defense policy is one of the main conditions for the stability of the state. Depending on how it is implemented, the state will be treated seriously and as a partner to greater or lesser extent in the international arena. This is of fundamental significance for the mood of the country, for society's self-esteem, and—to use military language—for national morale.

Caution Urged Regarding Clinton Victory

AU0911201892 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by Dan Stanca: "Good-Bye Bush! Success to Clinton!]

[Text] Bill Clinton's victory in the U.S. presidential election betrays a lack of seriousness. Fed up with living well, the Americans want to live even better. They do not know that "better" is the enemy of "well", and that the promised rivers of milk and honey that are going to flow through the "new world" will only be rivers of words. The carnival that is going to follow in the United States will send its waves over the ocean. The demagogues in East Europe—there are three of them per square meter in our country—will know how to utterly exploit this victory by Bill the Democrat. They will say that the changes promised by Clinton will provide a rainbow of peace, prosperity, and universal happiness. That is why they are demagogic; to stuff people's minds with nonsense and pour foolish things into their ears! I personally have never understood and will never be able to understand what the word change means to Americans. If they want change, then we should take to the road and raise it directly to the skies! [sentence as published] Statistics tell us that there are 23 million poor people in the Unites States! The same statistics fail to show that those poor people are richer than the rich in Romania and many other parts of the world! Likewise, one overlooks the fact that Democratic administrations have displayed a terrible dilettantism in foreign policy issues. During Franklin D. Roosevelt's time, Stalin succeeded in establishing his future empire in East Europe. The Fidel Castro regime was consolidated in John Kennedy's time, thus allowing communists to establish a bridgehead in the Caribbean that they never expected, a few miles from Florida! In Jimmy Carter's time, fundamentalist Iran did what it wanted, took U.S. diplomats hostage, and threatened peace throughout the world. Now the United States represents the only superpower in the world, known by the communists who were put in their places as the "gendarme," with ridiculous sarcasm. As a matter of fact, only this "gendarme" can guarantee the course toward democracy and put a halt to any attempt of returning to centralist-authoritarian structures. It was the Republican Reagan-Bush administration that won the Cold War and dismantled communist power, but nevertheless it did not win a definite victory. The discipline and severity of the two U.S. presidents who could not tolerate demagoguery at all has led to the current state of international affairs, which allows each nation to recover after years of dictatorship and to heal the wounds of an oppressive past. On the other hand, a Bill Clinton-type president, promising wonders and satisfying desires for equality among all the lazy and marginalized people in the United States, is a match for the East European politicians who love confusion, worthless declarations, and lying populism.

Let us hope that it will not happen in this way. Let us hope that the young team installed in the White House will know how to face the numerous challenges that this millenium is bringing about. Therefore, good-bye George Bush! Success to Bill Clinton!

Clinton Gives Hope for Most-Favored-Nation Status

AU0911192692 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 5 Nov 92 pp 1, 3

[Article by Dumitru Tinu: "America and Us"]

[Text] Something that absolutely never used to be shown by our radio and television stations: The United States' longest day—the day of the elections on 3 November. For us, with a time difference of seven hours, this was the longest "U.S. white night." For the Romanians, who may have commented on it in all sorts of ways, it was an original live performance. One thing is sure, namely that never has such an event as elections in a foreign country—be it even the United States—been followed with such keen interest in Bucharest. The explanation is simple: Never have we been so interested in knowing the U.S. attitude toward us. First, since the collapse of the communist system, the United States has become the only superpower in the world, and the man who will be president of this superpower is of interest to every country, irrespective of its size or geographical location. However, the Romanians had more specific reasons to sit in front of their television screens until the morning of 4 November. For them, these elections represented the hope that a change in the White House might also mean a change in attitude toward Romania. For, regardless of the explanations, they were not able to dispel their profound disappointment with the affront by the U.S. Congress, which, through a hasty decision, wanted to punish the Romanian electorate for their choice in the recent elections, whose fairness was recognized by all the foreign observers, including those from across the ocean.

It is good for the Americans to know this: The fact that most-favored-nation status was not granted to Romania, and that such a discriminatory regime has never been applied to any other country in the world did not affect the Romanians so much because of the repercussions of this action on economic relations, but mainly because of the fact that it seriously hurt the feelings of our people, who, like the American people, are a proud and dignified people. This action has been, and continues to be, used by nationalist and extremist forces for their own political purposes, and this may give birth to undesired anti-American feelings.

This is why Bill Clinton's victory in the elections on Tuesday, 3 November, kindles the hope that... the United States will be on our side. We should not forget the help rendered by the United States after the revolution, nor Washington's support in various international financial bodies, including the steps taken by President

Bush with the U.S. Congress in connection with most-favored-nation status. However, all this could not remove the feeling of frustration, which the Romanian people are experiencing because of an unjust decision.

What are the chances in Washington for a change for the better for Romania? What we know is that President-elect Bill Clinton, although in his election campaign he focused exclusively on the domestic situation, emphasized, when dealing with foreign policy priorities, the interest of the United States in developments in the former Soviet Union and East Europe. Aside from this, let us not forget that, to a certain extent, the U.S. Congress will be different after the elections for the House of Representatives and a third of the Senate. Let us hope that the good thoughts harbored during that memorable white night will not prove to have been in vain.

Effect of Clinton's Victory Analyzed

AU0911173992 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by Corneliu Vlad: "America Has Opted for Change—Romania Is a Blank Sheet for the New President"]

[Text] The United States has elected a new president and has opted for a new slogan in the coming four years: Change. Thus, even a venerable democracy feels that change is needed when times and circumstances require. Bill Clinton will be the first U.S. president who cannot boast to his compatriots that he served in World War II, for the simple reason that he was not yet born. Consequently, the postwar period has ended definitively; and so has the Cold War. For the United States the great confrontation will no longer be the one with the "evil empire," the USSR, to whose disintegration President George Bush made his contribution over several decades as a holder of high office and over the past four years as chief executive. The United States' great confrontation in the coming four years—and probably more—will be the United States itself and its economic and social problems.

In a memorable formulation, the current President—the defeated candidate—defined the guilt that caused him to lose, his political testament, and the message he conveyed to the man to whom he will hand over office on 20 January 1993 as follows: The world has changed in the past four years, America will have to change in the next four years. The electorate got the message, but elected another spokesman. With his merits and mistakes, Bush is a man who will go down in history. Clinton is the man of the future because he proposes to change U.S. society, specifically in economic and social areas, which will be a great challenge. The great opponent of the United States will no longer be the great power in the east, but Japan, and this confrontation will take place not on the political and military level but on the economic one.

Will there be a fundamental change in U.S. foreign policy? Something has to change in any case, because the United States remains the only political and military superpower in the world. This requires greater responsibility, which the world should not see in terms of a role as omnipotent international policeman, and it requires less military commitment (in terms of budget), without, however, reducing the defense capability of the United States. Bill Clinton, who presented a more reduced defense program than did Bush, very clearly said that the United States should remain by far the greatest military power in the world.

However, what does Bill Clinton's victory in the presidential election mean for East European countries and specifically, for Romania? During his election campaign, the future president did not develop this aspect of U.S. foreign policy—actually one of many, Washington thinks. Consequently, this subject is provoking all sorts of speculation. What is clear, however, is the fact that by the time the new occupant of the White House is installed, he will have formed a team in charge of national security (that is, foreign and defense policy) and one in charge of concrete objectives in the area in which we are located. Will Romania emerge from the gray, if not white (or even red?), zone in which we have found ourselves ever since December 1989 from the official point of view of the United States? As far as we are concerned, we have to hope. We are actually forced to hope. Anyway, compared with the numerous and enormous files awaiting Bill Clinton, Romania is a blank, unwritten sheet of paper. It depends on the new administration, and especially on those in power in Bucharest, what will be written on that blank sheet of paper in the coming four years.

Clinton Expected To 'Repair' Bush's Mistakes

AU0911180992 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Mihai Fabian article: "The American People Voted for Bill Clinton"]

[Excerpts] Bill Clinton, the winner of a victory that U.S. television stations described as "crushing," has been elected the 42d U.S. president. The last scene of the electoral marathon that started one and a half years ago, when Senator Paul Tsongas announced his candidacy for the supreme office (he subsequently withdrew), was concluded on the morning of 4 November, after a record number of over 100 million voters had elected the Democrat, Bill Clinton, to the office of president of the United States for a period of four years.

In a declaration made in his electoral constituency in Texas, President George Bush conceded defeat in a spirit of real fair play and, in accordance with U.S. tradition—from which others ought to learn, too—he asked the American people to give their support to the winner. [passage omitted]

The major element that decided the outcome of these elections was the new president's focus of his entire campaign on the economic problems that affect the life of each American. He presented a program in which he talked about establishing new jobs, social welfare, and education for everybody. "My voice got hoarse trying to bring your voice to the White House," said the new president toward the end of his electoral campaign. Well, now the voice of those Americans—and not only of those—who gave him their vote will be heard. Through the vote given to Clinton, the American public proved that it had decided in favor of a strong state, asking for the more extensive social protection that only a very strong United States can guarantee, a United States that Clinton can build, but that Bush neglected. The former president was mostly involved in foreign issues and was satisfied with the laurels obtained through the war with Iraq and by winning the Cold War. However, he has been far from the real concerns of the ordinary American. Well, that ordinary American wished for a president for himself, a president for a time of peace, while Bush was a president for times of war, an aristocratic president who belonged to a past in which often the clash of arms drowned out the sound of words.

Clinton's victory is even more precious considering that it was obtained against an opponent who had won two wars and who only a year ago was believed to be favored by 90 percent of the electorate. Bush is the victim of errors committed in the economy. The United States could not allow itself to approach the third millennium without a healthy economy, and Clinton proved that he wants this economy to recover and knows how to go about it. His program convinced the electorate.

Certainly, the victory of the Democrat does not have only domestic dimensions. There is no doubt that it is also reflected in the external arena, because Clinton is a first-rate world politician, the leader of a great power which cannot help being involved in major world problems. The fact that he focused on domestic economic problems in his campaign is part of the electoral strategy. Neither Clinton nor the United States can be promoters of isolation. Therefore, we believe that the new president will pay the appropriate attention to global issues, including European issues. As a matter of fact, from his occasional reference to foreign policy (which allowed Bush to mock him), one could understand that he will change essentially the position of the United States toward East Europe. In one of his speeches, he mentioned that the Republican administration had adopted an erroneous position toward Romania. We are sure that he was referring to one of the most controversial measures of the old administration—the refusal to grant Romania most-favored-nation status.

As far as Romania is concerned—through its most authorized spokesman, namely, President Ion Iliescu—it reaffirms the desire for good relations both with the United States and with the other developed countries of the world, seeing it as a guarantor to achieve its goals, namely to proceed to a market economy. Therefore, Mr. Clinton has the possibility to "repair" the mistake of the old administration. Thus, we wish of him that, after his inauguration, he should prove his determination to carry through to the end the work that he started, the way he proceeded during the electoral campaign on which he embarked, even though he knew very well that he had a formidable adversary.

Red Cross To Evacuate 6,000 From Sarajevo

AU0911210892 Paris AFP in English 2101 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 9 (AFP)—The Bosnian Red Cross said it was to begin evacuating Tuesday [10 November] 6,000 Sarajevo residents in the largest operation of its kind since Serbs laid siege to the city last April.

The organisation announced on radio and television late Monday that coaches would be leaving the Bosnian capital at 9:00 p.m., 20 buses travelling to Belgrade and another 26 leaving for the Adriatic port city of Split. The evacuation will not be assisted by United Nations agencies, it said.

UNPROFOR Opposes Evacuation

LD1011105892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Red Cross today will begin evacuating about 6,000 people who will go from the besieged town of Sarajevo to Belgrade or Split. Their departure has been postponed for several days. Children, women, old people, and men aged between 18 and 60 who have been excused from military service will be evacuated in convoys. Serbs will be evacuated to Belgrade and Muslims and Croats to Split.

This morning, a UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] official criticized the evacuation and said that there is no chance that the Red Cross convoys will be given UNPROFOR military escorts. This is tantamount to ethnic cleansing. Serbs are trying to remove the Serb population from the town by force, and we do not want to take part in that, Adnan Abdul Razek, head of UNPROFOR's political section in Sarajevo, said.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government opposes this mass evacuation and has tried to prevent it, but it has been accused of trying to keep civilians in the town in order to intentionally make the conditions more dramatic.

Karadzic Presents Seven-Point Peace Plan

AU0911151992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Report by Dusan Djordjevic on news conference by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Belgrade on 9 November]

[Text] Dr. Radovan Karadzic presented a new seven-point Serbian peace plan: The complete withdrawal of all armed forces of the Republic of Croatia from the former Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina; that the Muslim leadership annuls and withdraws the state of war declared against the Serbs; the cessation of hostilities and all offensive operations and recognition of the present front lines; the distribution of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] observers along the front lines with units of all three warring factions; the restoration of direct negotiations among the warring factions; the separation and division of the forces in Sarajevo with joint patrols and joint control points; and finally, the immediate and unconditional release of all civilians who are held in cities against their will.

I returned from Geneva, Karadzic stressed, to hold military and political consultations. We held them in Bijeljina over the last two days, and we discussed the most favorable ways of stopping the war, and starting political negotiations. The biggest obstacle to stopping the war is the engagement of the Republic of Croatia on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Around 38,000 Croatian soldiers are currently deployed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as are other formations. If Croatia wanted, Karadzic stressed, the war could stop immediately; that is, in a week at the latest. According to Radovan Karadzic, however, Croatia does not want that to happen for the time being.

Dr. Karadzic will personally present the new Serbian peace plan to Geneva conference cochairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, and later to UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. Karadzic repeated that the international community was closing its eyes to the fact that Serbia was not involved in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, while Croatia, on the other hand, was waging it. Karadzic rejected claims that heavy artillery was being used in the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, except when they were under attack by the opposing sides. He also reiterated that the Serbian side wanted the war to stop immediately, and that they were ready to make many concessions, but if the other two sides did not want that, the Serbs would defend themselves.

The largest concession that we can make, Karadzic stressed, is to accept and recognize the external borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, under the condition that internal ones are settled. As for humanitarian aid, the Serbian side will guarantee the safety of all humanitarian and other convoys to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

'Hundreds' of Casualties Reported in Hercegovina

LD1011063492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0607 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] Nevesinje, November 9 (TANJUG)—There were hundreds of killed and wounded in the fighting on the eastern Hercegovina battlefront over the past two days, but the front line remained unchanged, according to the Serb forces' sources.

The Army of the Republic of Croatia and the forces of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Moslems and Croats continued with the same intensity to attack on Nevesinje, a town predominantly populated by Serbs. The infantry attacks continued in waves, and according to the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, the Serb forces have beaten back all the assaults.

The situation was a mobile one in Nevesinje. Hardly any people could be seen on the streets. In fear of repeat bombing, the residents have for the most part remained

at their homes. There were scarcely any men in the town as practically all have gone to the front.

The reports on the killed and the wounded were not available, but TANJUG has learned, that on the Serb side some 15 men have been killed, and over 50 were wounded. It is believed that on the side of the attackers the losses were much higher. Following strong but fruitless onslaughts, a large number of Croatian soldiers remained lying outside the Serb fortifications and bunkers.

Fierce attacks by the Croatian forces in the area between Stolac and Ljubinje died down on Monday [9 November] night.

Zagreb Radio Reports Battle

LD0911201592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Mostar battlefield fighting has intensified. The enemy has been attacking points all along the 100 km front and Mostar itself. The center of town was shelled at 1100, causing great damage. Air raid alerts were sounded three times in Mostar today, while the general alert remains in force. The Serbian air force has been very active over all of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Croatian Defense Council formations liberated some villages at the foot of Mt. Velez, near Nevesinje.

Corridors Cut Between Serb Republic, FRY

LD0911164792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1551 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—The Croat-Moslem forces cut the corridors between the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, thus separating western from eastern Bosnia, and fighting continued in northeastern Bosnia on Monday [9 November].

TANJUG's reporter quoted Serb military sources as saying the Croat forces on Sunday night cut the road corridor through northern Bosnia near the village of Gorice, five kilometers west of Brcko—a town on the border with Croatia.

The regular Croatian [word indistinct] local Croats launched a fierce attack on Serb positions in four villages, killing three Serb soldiers and a civilian, the same sources added. The Bosnian Serbs news agency SRNA said the fighting was still under way and the Serb forces resisted the attacks.

Last weekend, the Croatian Army carried out an aggression on Bosnia-Hercegovina, and opened artillery fire around Orasje (near Brcko), the only remaining Croat-held village. According to Serb military sources, the Croatian offensive is aimed at cutting the corridor through northern Bosnia and at joining the Moslem forces in the northern Bosnian town of Gradacac.

Continued Moslem attacks prevent free movement through the road corridor between the F.R. [Federal Republic] Yugoslavia and Pale, the Serbian republic's political centre some 15 kilometers from Sarajevo. The corridor was cut on Friday between Zvornik and Sehovici, and the fighting continued near Capardi and Crni Vrh—around 15 kilometers from the border with the F.R. Yugoslavia.

The command of the Hercegovina Corps of the Serbian Republic's Army said the fighting continued unabated around Mostar (western Hercegovina) and Nevesinje (eastern Hercegovina).

Croatia's regular Army and local Moslem-Croat forces are trying to penetrate towards Nevesinje, by using all available means in alternating artillery and infantry attacks, the command said. Croatian Radio said the Croat forces advanced and seized important points around Nevesinje, thus moving the line of front further inside the Serb territory.

The Hercegovina Corps command said the "Serb positions [word indistinct] not endangered." It also said the fighting continued somewhat abated around Stolac and Ljubinje in eastern Hercegovina.

According to Serb military sources, it was relatively quiet around Doboj and Maglaj (Central Bosnia) on Monday, with Sporadic shooting. There were no reports on Monday morning about the situation in Gradacac.

SRNA said no larger-scale fighting was reported in and around Sarajevo on Sunday night and Monday, but only sporadic infantry shooting was heard.

Serbs Reportedly Using Helicopters in Gradacac

LD0911184392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Serbian forces today used helicopters to attack Gradacac. It was also pounded by howitzers, mortars, and all kinds of tanks and artillery. The chetniks are shelling the town's central area and its industrial zone while its residential areas are also being demolished by infantry and armored units. The aggressor is trying hard to break through the line of defense. In the course of today's attacks on Gradacac six people have died and 12 have been wounded.

Izetbegovic Wants Arms Embargo Lifted

LD0911175592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Report by Zdenko Vramjes from Sarajevo]

[Text] Chetnik artillery continues to pound Hrasnica, Butmir, and Sokolovic Kolonija, the districts below the Mount Igman that are under the control of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. This afternoon artillery shells also caused damage in Dobrinja. At the same time, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army is scoring significant victories

in the approaches to Ilidza and especially in fighting around Hadzici, where they destroyed two tanks and captured a large quantity of ammunition and equipment. This was announced today by the press center of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, which warns that the aggressor keeps bringing in fresh forces to the eastern and western approaches to the town. Between 1200 yesterday and noon today, five people were killed and 22 wounded in Sarajevo.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic today sent a letter to Cyrus Vance and David Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva conference, informing them that the lifting of the embargo on the import of arms to Bosnia-Hercegovina is the only thing that can stop the Serb aggressors who constantly ignore political solutions.

At a session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency today, discussion of the resignation of Sjepan Kljuic was postponed until next session because of Kljuic's absence, a statement says. Prime Minister Jure Pelivan announced his resignation.

Silajdzic Plays Down Discord in Government Ranks

AU0911135092 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 9 Nov 92 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by Livia Klingl; place and date not given: "Europe Will Have To Pay"]

[Text] [Klingl] Are there conflicts in the Bosnian leadership, in particular between President Alija Izetbegovic and Vice President Ejup Ganic?

[Silajdzic] No, such reports are mere propaganda.

[Klingl] What about rumors that Muslims and Croats no longer fight against the attacking Serbs together?

[Silajdzic] There were some serious incidents, fighting between the two groups. We hope that these differences have been settled.

[Klingl] Who was responsible for the fall of the town of Jajce in central Bosnia? It was said that the Croats did not supply the Muslims with ammunition.

[Silajdzic] This is propaganda again. The lack of ammunition was the reason that Jajce was conquered.

[Klingl] Will there be a unified Bosnia after the war?

[Silajdzic] Certainly. There will be a decentralized state, organized in traditional regional centers. This is also the plan of the UN and EC negotiators. There will not be any ethnic separations.

[Klingl] Now, however, 70 percent of the Bosnian territory is under Serbian control.

[Silajdzic] Again propaganda; the figure is not correct, it is less.

[Klingl] What happens with the refugees who cannot leave Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] We want to accommodate them in Bosnia, wherever possible. At least 300,000 people had to leave their homes. In addition, the war has killed at least 100,000.

[Klingl] How can the war be stopped?

[Silajdzic] In a civilized world, of which we think—of which we thought—that we belong to it, the lawless must be punished.

[Klingl] By whom?

[Silajdzic] By the international community.

[Klingl] Do you feel left in the lurch?

[Silajdzic] Yes. Even though we have friends in this difficult time, such as Austria, we also feel a wall of indifference around Bosnia-Hercegovina. We are neither rich nor dangerous, therefore we do not count in big politics. This is our problem.

[Klingl] Does the name of one of the ethnic groups, the Muslims, play a role?

[Silajdzic] The interesting thing is that one is not afraid of national fundamentalism, fascism, which has proved that it is dangerous to hundreds of thousands. But one is afraid of a highly hypothetical fundamentalism, the Muslim one. It is said that in the 20th century Europe becomes a slave of this concept. Europe will have to pay for Bosnia. In 1938 the situation was the same, they did not react in time. Now again, the issue is a virus of violence and nationalism, which cannot be kept within the Bosnian borders. This will be a good example for other aggressors. In Bosnia a brutal, uncivilized regime is waging a war against civilization. The attackers have destroyed dozens of old cultural sites for one single reason: Because the uncivilized fear culture.

[Klingl] Do you have the hope that this regime will fall?

[Silajdzic] It will fall, sooner or later, because it cannot resist the dynamism around it. This is a physical law. Europe cannot fall back into the Middle Ages because of a marginal dictatorship in the Balkans.

Serbs Protest 'Incorrect' UN Forces Behavior

LD0911164992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Knin, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—In today's statement for the public, the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] singles out "the incorrect behavior of UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members toward members of the RSK government at a checkpoint on a bridge over the Sava River near Gradiska".

The statement says that an RSK delegation waited for an hour to cross to Krajina territory while a UNPROFOR member tried "forcibly to disarm escorts of RSK Internal Affairs Minister Milan Martic."

These are not isolated instances of UNPROFOR overstepping its authority, and "citizens in Sector West complain daily about the conduct of UNPROFOR members," the statement says. There have also been instances of Krajina regional and local policemen being disarmed, the statement adds.

"As a result of all this and with a view to preventing such incidents, the RSK Internal Affairs Ministry demands that the competent bodies in the UNPROFOR Command prevent the disarming by force of the police and assure that peacekeeping forces do not act against their mandate—that is, do not overstep their authority—and that arms are returned by 1300 tomorrow," the statement says.

It is also demanded that checkpoints on the Sava River be taken over by the RSK Internal Affairs Ministry and that UNPROFOR withdraw deep into Krajina territory by 13 November.

"This type of behavior by UNPROFOR members will not be tolerated in the future and UNPROFOR will bear all responsibility for possible consequences," the statement concludes.

Paper Comments on 'Comeback' of U.S. Democrats

AU0911163692 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 92 Europe Edition p 15

[Commentary by Jurij Gustincic]

[Text] Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton can be glad, not only about his victory over Bush, but also about the end of the "practice" that was, to the regret of the Democratic Party, experienced by his predecessors. Thus, Carter, both in 1976 when he won the elections and four years later when he was defeated by Reagan, could hardly squeeze through the narrow passage [tjesnac]. In the first case, one had to wait for a long time on election night for the balance to be upset and for votes to swing over to the side of the Democrats. In the second case, the hapless Jimmy—he had just been crushed by the Tehran hostage tragedy—was defeated by what the Americans call a landslide. Reagan won almost everywhere.

It was hardly any different in the cases of Mondale in 1984 and Dukakis in 1988. In both cases, the victory of the Republican candidate was overwhelming. Bill Clinton has broken the mould of such poor results—poor even in defeat—because the last convincing victory by the Democrats was registered at the elections as far back as 1964, when many people voted for Lyndon Johnson for no other reason than to pay tribute to the memory of the assassinated Kennedy.

Therefore, this represents a real comeback for the Democrats in the United States. The hero of the show does not appear on the stage in the midst of very difficult events. Therefore, this was not an aberration, when it appears that something unnatural is going on. For it would certainly seem to be natural for the Democrats to have a majority in the Congress—something which they have failed to do only once in the last two decades—and for the Republicans to hold the White House. This time, a Democrat is coming to the top state post in the full glory of a solid victory.

Another specific trait of Clinton's election is the fact that the person entering the White House seems to be unburdened with complexes. His democratic predecessors were perhaps rumored to have been either too much to the right (Carter) or too activist in the tradition of Roosevelt or Johnson, particularly as regards the tendency the two presidents had to spend too much money on big social projects. Neither of these applies to Clinton.

Nobody will claim that the new president does not have the greatest chances of success, although some difficulties exist as a result of his broad political stance. Namely, Clinton is a man of the happy medium. During the election campaign, he was almost unsurpassable in avoiding the danger of displeasing one side by identifying himself too much with the other. True, he is less inclined toward opening tax loopholes to big business than not only Reagan, but also the more moderate Bush, but it also cannot be said that he displeased the bosses of industry. Besides, he is stressing his loyalty to the interests of the middle class. The great majority of all Americans are middle class. He is ready to open the doors to greater economic and financial prosperity for them.

The reader will notice that we have said nothing about foreign policy. That is true. This is a domain that is a complete puzzle to us at the beginning of Clinton's term of office.

U.S. 'Steering to the Left,' Europe 'to the Right'

AU0911133392 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 5 Nov 92 p 2

[Dejan Kovac commentary: "Turn Left!"]

[Text] Bill Clinton has an attractive and emancipated wife, whom he cheated on for years, his stepfather was an alcoholic, he betrayed his fatherland because he avoided its "rightful" call for cooperation in the Vietnam war, and on top of all this he flirted with the Soviet Union during the cold war. Furthermore, his grandfather, already, did not differentiate between black and white...

Not so long ago it appeared completely impossible that a man with such attributes could win in the United States, in the biggest electoral race of the world. Clinton, who entered the race as a rather unsuccessful governor of the rather insignificant American state of Arkansas, did not represent a major threat to Republican Bush a year ago, especially not in the atmosphere of the deeply rooted traditionalism (right-wing orientation) of American society. The mistake of the Republicans, whom Billy whipped even in their own states like New Hampshire, Vermont, and Georgia, was also that they counted upon "American puritanism," although, by all accounts, the average U.S. citizen reproached Bush's faithfulness "to the dragon in the White House" [as published] more than Clinton's fling with an attractive journalist.

In the circumstances when Europe (and us with it) is stumbling among the traditional values of devout orthodoxy in search for a pure right-wing politician, the results of yesterday's American elections are especially illuminating. Namely, they demonstrate the absolute asymmetry of the two hemispheres, where Columbus's discovery is steering to the left in times of crisis while "the motherland" is steering strictly to the right. And regardless of the fact that in a month's time we will plunge into our own electoral circus in Slovenia, as it appears, even with nine candidates, we are far from offering the American choice to our voters. Namely, none of them has (publicly) cheated on his wife, and above all nobody avoided the rightful war, or flirted with the enemy of the Slovene cold war.

To avoid any misunderstandings, the aforementioned qualities certainly do not draw a line separating the left and the right. What is decisive in both hemispheres is that political logs in America burn differently from the political logs on the old continent. And above all, that it is not possible to reignite burnt-down logs...

Austria's Vranitzky Meets With Drnovsek, Kucan

AU0611151392 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 6 Nov 92 p 1

[Report by Christian Hoffman: "Focus on Economic Issues"]

[Text] On 5 November, Chancellor Vranitzky was the first foreign government head to visit Slovenia. His talks with Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, leader of a government, which was recognized internationally only recently, focused on economic issues.

Vranitzky and Drnovsek, who gave a joint news conference after their meeting, discussed a number of projects, including the extension of the Save River power plants and the installation of filters at the Sostanj thermal power plant.

Vranitzky also pointed to cooperation projects in education and management training. Austria and Slovenia also are planning a joint project at the International Monetary Fund.

On the issue of transit licenses for Slovene exports through Austria, Vranitzky stressed that extending the railroad network is planned for the future.

He promised the Slovene side that, during a transition period, one would seek an interim solution. Vranitzky noted that another option would be Slovenia's developing closer ties to the European Free Trade Association [EFTA], which might establish a link to the EC when the European Economic Area Agreement becomes effective.

In a previous interview with the Slovene newspaper DELO, Vranitzky had assured that EFTA will exist as long as some of its members have not become EC members.

Vranitzky was optimistic that the difficulties in ratifying the Maastricht Treaties cannot stop the process of integration, although they might slow it down.

In the same interview, Vranitzky said that the war in Bosnia has reached a stage at which hostilities can be ended only by dividing the country. Such a solution, however, depends on the agreement of all groups in Bosnia.

On the eve of his visit, Vranitzky received a representative of the ethnic Slovenes in Austria. Funding for minority affairs will be increased from 22 to 38 million [schillings] in 1993.

In the afternoon, Vranitzky, who is accompanied by Finance Minister Ferdinand Lacina, met Slovene President Milan Kucan. The agenda included the opening of the "Forum for Investment and Privatization" and a visit to the Slovenska Bistrica and Race refugee camps.

Vranitzky Provides Money for Refugees

AU0811183492 Salzburg SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN in German 7 Nov 92 p 2

[Gerhard Schwischei report: "Concern About Peace Dominated Visit to Slovenia"]

[Text] The concern about a stable peace order in the whole of Europe determined the talks that Chancellor Franz Vranitzky held with politicians and economic representatives during his visit to Slovenia on Thursday evening [5 November] and on Friday. After the meeting with President

Milan Kucan, Vranitzky said that above all the insification of economic relations is likely to establish a strengthened network of prosperity and security.

At the opening of the "Forum for Investments and Privatization in Slovenia" on Friday morning, the chancellor stressed that the West must cooperate with the reform states without preconditions to achieve a stable peace order. Major reorganization processes cannot be implemented within a few months. To promote joint ventures and other forms of economic cooperation with the reform countries, Austria doubled the money allocated to the East-West Fund from 5 to 10 billion schillings in the 1993 budget.

Referring to the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vranitzky said that the efforts for peace must not slacken. However, he rejects the easing of the sanctions against Serbia. Europe is not taken in by soothing words; the Serbs are still not behaving as the EC had envisaged, he said.

At the final conference with Vranitzky, Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek stressed Slovenia's difficult situation regarding the approximately 57,000 refugees in the country. Slovenia wants other European states to accommodate more refugees than before. Since, however, the capacities in Austria are also exhausted, any material help is gratefully accepted. During his visit to two refugee camps, Vranitzky handed over about 6 million schillings to winterize the lodgings.

In answer to the question of whether the situation of the ethnic Slovene group in Austria was a topic in the talks, the chancellor said: "Relations are better than ever before, but Slovenia has also called for bilingual administration of the bilingual schools in Carinthia." Vranitzky understands this and will try to translate this wish into reality. The chancellor pointed out that next year financial help for ethnic groups in Austria will amount to about 40 million schillings.

Berisha, Kucan Discuss 'Stabilization' of Macedonia

AU0911175792 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] As we have already reported, Albanian President Sali Berisha arrived this morning for an official visit at the invitation of President Milan Kucan. He held talks with Kucan and will meet Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek this afternoon. Afterward he will visit some businesses. The presidents made short statements to the press after their talks:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] First, Sali Berisha. He thanked Slovenia and its leaders for the help extended to Albania and for the invitation to make this visit. He said that Slovenia and Albania share identical views on the events, that is to say, the war in the Balkans and, therefore propose joint solutions.

The war in Bosnia-Hercegovina—with Serbia being the main culprit—must be ended. The exiled Bosnians should be allowed to return to their homes. Berisha also spoke in favor of demilitarizing Kosovo. In his opinion, international supervision should be established in this republic [as heard] as soon as possible. Macedonia must also be stabilized. Kucan then said:

[Kucan] We must narrow a great gap that sets us apart from the more developed parts of Europe as quickly as possible, regardless of the fact that our initial positions are different and that Albania must, besides its general problems resulting from this gap, also make up for everything resulting from several years in total isolation.

Regarding the situation in the former Yugoslavia and in southeast Europe in general, we expressed substantially similar assessments, views, and ideas for possible solutions. Our joint conclusion is that the main reason for the war and the crisis is the manner in which the Serbian politicians decided to resolve the Serbian national issue—that is to say, with the concept of Greater Serbia. We agree that there will not be lasting peace and stability in this part of Europe until a democratic Serbia is established and for as long as a powerful army is the main impetus of Serbian policy.

We established the need for certain initiatives that President Berisha has mentioned, as was mentioned at the London Conference, regarding the imminent recognition of Macedonia. This is one of the conditions for the stabilization of Macedonia, and will be further discussed today and tomorrow. [end recording]

Federal

Court Orders Serbs To Free Federal Building

AU0911204292 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] The second communal court today ordered the Serbian Internal Affairs Ministry to lift the blockade on the Federal police building at 90-92 Knez Milos Street within 24 hours. The court has taken this temporary measure at the request of the FRY, which sued the republican Internal Affairs Ministry for [word indistinct] of property.

Cosic Asks Butrus-Ghali To Warn Croatia

LD0911191692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1756 GMT 9 Nov 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—The President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic, on Monday [9 November] asked United Nations Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to warn Croatia to halt actions which threaten agreements on the demilitarization of the Prevlaka peninsula.

The Yugoslav president's letter, which was distributed in the United Nations on Monday as an official document, informs Butrus-Ghali about several such actions in Prevlaka over the past few days which represent an aggression against Yugoslavia (erection of barriers, opening of fire and infantry attacks on the Debeli Breg border crossing).

Protests by the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to the Zagreb authorities have failed to give any results, Cosic said.

"The Yugoslav side does not want to be forced by the Croatian Armed Forces to retaliate likewise," he said.

Prevlaka is a peninsula guarding the entrance to the Bay of Kotor, Montenegro. This strategically important area on the Croat-Yugoslav border has been demilitarized and put under U.N. supervision under an agreement signed by Cosic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

EC Reportedly Rules Out Lifting Sanctions

AU0911203892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Report by TANJUG correspondent Vuckovic from Brussels]

[Text] The European Community does not intend to alleviate the economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, despite Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic's request last week during his visit to European institutions in Brussels. Actually, it is not planning new stricter ones either, which certain EC members and the American administration have been demanding.

As we learned unofficially tonight from some delegations, that is the result of the debate on the situation in the former Yugoslavia at today's meeting of the EC Ministers Council in Brussels. There was a discussion, however, on how to tighten control of the embargo, particularly when it comes to oil and weapons.

The Twelve are also expected to take in 6,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina and offer other kinds of humanitarian aid. The discussion on the former Yugoslavia, informed sources say, continued for a long time and opened with a report presented by Lord Owen, cochairman of the conference in Geneva. He, it is said, was among those most energetically opposed to the alleviation or freezing of the sanctions, claiming that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had not met the conditions set by the international community, particularly the ones connected to ending the war in Bosnia and the solution to the Kosovo issue.

Foreign Minister Djukic Meets With Butrus-Ghali

LD1011093692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0641 GMT 10 Nov 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, November 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic said on Monday [9 November] that Yugoslavia continued sending humanitarian aid to inhabitants of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina where an ethnic war is being waged, regardless of their nationality, and in spite of the fact that there are 500,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina in Yugoslavia.

Djukic made the statement during his meeting with U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in New York, where they talked about questions linked to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Ghali said that regarding humanitarian aid, the U.N. would treat all refugees in the spaces of the former Yugoslavia equally.

Butrus-Ghali expressed satisfaction concerning the agreement on stationing U.N. observers at airports in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Yugoslavia and the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

These observers will monitor the observing of Security Council Resolution 781 which bans military flights above Bosnia-Hercegovina territory. Fierce armed battles have been fought in Bosnia-Hercegovina for the past seven months between local Serbs (31 percent of the population) on one side and Croats and Muslims (17 percent and 44 percent, respectively) [word indistinct] the other [word indistinct].

Butrus-Ghali stressed the importance of the agreement under which the planes of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs have been grounded at Banja Luka airport in northwestern Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In order to prove that they were observing Resolution 781, Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina offered to transfer those planes which had remained after the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Bosnia-Hercegovina in late May, to airports in Yugoslavia. It was decided however, that these planes would be grounded in Banja Luka and placed under U.N. control.

Butrus-Ghali underscored the necessity of fully observing the no-fly zone and said that the Security Council could take a special decision affirming all that has been achieved by the aforementioned agreements.

Djukic and Butrus-Ghali agreed to meet again after Djukic completed a series of engagements in New York. Djukic will meet with representatives of the Security Council member countries and other U.N. diplomats on Monday and Tuesday.

Government Proposes Draft Law on Foreign Capital

LD0911155592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1351 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, November 9 (TANJUG)—Concessions are the biggest chance for attracting foreign capital to Yugoslavia, Dr Branko [name indistinct] member of the Economic Council of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from Montenegro, told TANJUG on Monday [9 November].

According to a draft bill of the Federal Government soon to be introduced before parliament, a foreign person can be issued licence to "use a given natural resource or public property" for a definite period.

The draft makes it possible for foreign persons to set up their own firms and banks in the FR [Federal Republic] of Yugoslavia. According to existing laws, foreigners could only set up mixed companies.

Firms with foreign invested capital will have the same status, rights and responsibilities as other firms on the Yugoslav [rest of sentence indistinct]. The draft also provides for profit tax reductions and concessions on imported equipment.

The Yugoslav Government believes that the new law will contribute to a complete opening of the domestic market towards the world after the blockade is lifted, and that it will make Yugoslavia attractive to managers.

The draft bill was favourably assessed by the Federal Economic Council last week. Yugoslavia would certainly escape the strict international sanctions if factories, tollroads, airports, the Danubian fleet or some mines were owned by foreign citizens, experts noted.

According to Srdjan Savic, minister for foreign economic relations in the government of Serbia, the republic did not have much benefit from the influx of foreign capital thus far.

Foreign trade accounted for about 45 per cent of the contracts signed with foreign persons, while only 18 per cent concerned productive activities. In about 56 per cent of the arrangements the share of foreign persons was under 5,000 DM [German marks], and in a quarter even under 500 DM, said Savic.

Foreign investments in Yugoslavia's economy were authorized early in 1989 by relevant decisions of the Federal Government of that time. Foreign persons and their partners in Serbia signed 2,166 contracts worth 1.8 billion DM by the end of 1991.

Dinar Exchange Rate Depends on UN Sanctions

LD0911120692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1139 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, November 9 (TANJUG)—The National Bank of Yugoslavia (central bank) will begin preparations for the devaluation of the national currency, the dinar, when chances for the lifting of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have become realistic, the bank's governor Vuk Ognjanovic told TANJUG on Monday [9 November].

A devaluation would be pointless before other conditions have been fulfilled, the most important of which is the restoration of export operations, said Ognjanovic.

The United Nations Security Council imposed economic and political sanctions against the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro on May 30.

Under a draft law on the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which was submitted to the federal parliament late last week, the central bank and not the Federal Government will be in charge of the exchange rate of the national currency. The draft is expected to be adopted in November, said Ognjanovic. The draft specifies that the policy of exchange rates would depend on the central bank's ability to influence the demand and supply of foreign currencies and secure the necessary foreign currency reserves.

The draft envisages the central bank's independence from the Federal Government but also its obligation to cooperate with the government on deciding about the main objectives of the economic policy and its implementation.

The central bank's policy in view of the exchange rate of the dinar will be in keeping with the economic policy of the Federal Government, said Ognjanovic.

Under the draft, the central bank will be entitled to incurring foreign debts independently only in order to maintain the solvency and increase foreign currency reserves. The

bank will conclude all other loans in keeping with a special law adopted by the federal parliament.

The draft provides for the bank's right to establish relations on obligatory registration of all contracts with foreign partners.

Daily Comments on Nuclear Arms Proliferation

AU0911171992 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 92 p 4

[Commentary by Miroslav Lazanski: "Atomic Bombs Travel to Balkans"]

[Text] The Munich police have announced that they have intercepted a chain of smugglers suspected of trying to get large quantities of uranium into the war zones of the former Yugoslavia.

Munich Public Prosecutor (?Heinz Stoker) has said that 20 people are under investigation, some of them already arrested. According to the prosecutor, some documents have been seized, together with more evidence to the effect that this was an attempt to smuggle highly radioactive uranium 235, but the uranium itself has not been found.

This news from Munich can be linked to speculation about the disappearance of a number of Soviet nuclear warheads from the arsenal of the former Soviet Army, and the uncertainty concerning the amount circulating on the black market of atomic weaponry. Modern atomic bombs come in various "packages," from nuclear mines and shells that can be carried by individual soldiers, to warheads attached to missiles. The problem of the proliferation of nuclear technology and atomic weapons is emerging as the major problem in relations between the United States and the republics of the former Soviet Union.

Nuclear Terrorists

The existence of miniature atomic bombs that can be carried by individual soldiers was confirmed several years ago by William Arkin, an American scientist from the Institute for Political Studies in Washington. Actually, ever since the first heavy and awkward atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, up to the modern "little bombs," the main trend in development has been geared to reducing the size and the weight of this atomic means of destruction. Not long ago, heavy aircraft were hardly able to carry one atomic or hydrogen bomb each; now the equivalent destructive power is carried by members of special commando units in their equipment bags. The trend is to reduce the size of modern weaponry, and it is this that increases the possibility of atomic terrorism.

Arsenals of mini atomic weapons include nuclear mines with a payload of up to 0.1 kiloton, weighing about 27 kilograms. There are two types: the SM-50 and the D-444. Little is known about these nuclear mines, but the fact is that the U.S. Armed Forces have developed a whole family of atomic mines ranging from 0.1 up to five kilotons, that is, weighing 27, 45.3, and as much as 226.8 kilograms.

Recently, U.S. ground forces have been even more demanding and attentive to detail: the size of the mine has to be minimized, while the weight cannot exceed 100 kg. The mine has to be firm and hermetically sealed, simple to store, and with the facility to be activated by remote control using wire, radio signals, or a clock. It has to be laid manually, or by mechanical means. The installation time must not exceed 10 minutes, including a complete check that the equipment will receive the activating signal.

These are only a few standards for nuclear mines of small dimensions. The surface detonation of a 10-kiloton nuclear mine would create a crater 90 meters wide and 20 meters deep. The 0.1 to five-kiloton nuclear mines are very effective against tanks within a radius of 50 to 500 meters, and against armored transporters within a radius of 60 to 600 meters, all of which depends, of course, on the type of surface.

Special forces armed with small nuclear mines and bombs are well-suited to war in urban Europe: sudden attacks on the enemy's communications, preventing its movement in the desired direction, destroying its military transport....

No Control

If the world is facing the possibility of the illegal resale of miniature atomic mines and bombs, there is an even greater danger still from the proliferation of uranium 235, the vital fission material that is necessary for creating the chain reaction in a nuclear bomb. However, the greatest obstacle to the proliferation of nuclear weapons is the fact that the natural element of uranium contains only 0.7 percent of the 235 uranium isotope, and that it has to be enriched to 90 percent before it can be used for nuclear warheads. This procedure is expensive and complicated, despite the technological advances in this field. There are some more modest methods for the enrichment of uranium 235, such as the gas centrifuge method. As for plutonium 239, it does not exist in nature, but its supplies in the world have been increasing rapidly. It is an artificial by-product of the fission created in nuclear power generators. After processing, it is possible to use plutonium 239 as an atomic explosive. That greatly concerns the experts, as there is more and more plutonium 239 around.

In addition, the great quantities of fission material not only favor the extension of "nuclear club" membership, but also present a real challenge from various terrorist and extremist groups. The nuclear nonproliferation treaty has not been signed by every country, and some are already working intensively on their own nuclear programs.

There is no absolute control. It is impossible to control all the routes through which plutonium goes. For that reason, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will have to keep an eye on the possibility that some of its neighbors will become new members of the "nuclear club."

Serbia

Officials Deny Mass Grave Near Vukovar

LD0911165192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Miodrag Visic, chairman of the Vukovar municipal assembly, told a news conference in Belgrade today that there is no mass grave for Croats near the village of Ovcara near Vukovar. According to him, Vukovar municipality officials protested sharply against "the occupation of the Ovcara territory" by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and proposed setting up an international commission to investigate cases of genocide in this area. Visic stressed that "there will be no organized return of Croats to Vukovar," but they could return individually with the approval of the Vukovar authorities. The chairman of Vukovar municipality told journalists that "the security situation is improving" in the town and that schools, hospitals, and industrial and other vital buildings were being repaired. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Foreign Minister Visits Albania, Meets Officials

LD1011062592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Podgorica, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Foreign Affairs Ministry revealed today that Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic visited Tirana on Saturday [7 November], where he met Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova. [sentence indistinct]

Miodrag Lekic and Arian Starova exchanged views on topical issues regarding bilateral relations, a statement says. Both sides voiced readiness to hold talks about outstanding issues and possible forms of cooperation.

Fatos Peja, special adviser to the Albanian president, and Miroljub Zaric, charge d'affairs of the Yugoslav Embassy in Tirana, attended the talks.

Macedonia

Skopje Funerals Draw 20,000 Albanians

AU0911155792 Paris AFP in English 1523 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Skopje, Nov 9 (AFP)—Tension remained high in the Macedonian capital Skopje Monday [9 Monday] as 20,000 ethnic Albanians attended the funerals of three people killed during weekend clashes with police.

Armed with Kalashnikov assault rifles police were out in force patrolling the capital's streets Monday, with many Macedonians fearing an outbreak of interethnic strife following Friday's disturbances in which four people died, including a Macedonian, from gunshot wounds.

About 36 people were injured in clashes sparked by an alleged police beating of an ethnic Albanian, arrested on suspicion of illegally selling cigarettes in the Albanian district of Skopje, Bit Pazar.

Police exchanged automatic gunfire with unidentified men during the hour-long incident in which tear gas was used to quell rioters who ransacked 50 shops and kiosks. Police detained 87 people in connection with the disturbances.

Cohabitation between Macedonians and Albanians has become increasingly difficult. "There are too many Albanians in Skopje," said Ljubco, a city technician.

Skopje's 600,000 population includes 150,000 Albanians who live mainly in the city's old quarter. Albanians account for between 22 and 30 percent of the country's 2.3 million population.

Four Kosovars Sentenced

AU0911215692 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] The Macedonian Internal Affairs Ministry today issued a report on the participation of foreigners in the incident which occurred in Bit Pazar on 6 November. The report stresses that the ministry has continuously acted to prevent further incidents. The situation in Skopje and the republic today is normal without any attempts to violate public peace and order.

The ministry has established that, apart from people from Skopje, Tetovo, and Gostivar, 27 foreigners, 11 from Albania and 16 from Kosovo, participated in the Friday incident. They were brought to a police station so that their identity and behavior during the events could be established. Due to their aggressive and destructive conduct, misdemeanor charges were filed against four people from Kosovo. The Communal Court passed one-month sentences on them and they have been sent to serve the sentences. Other people from Kosovo and all 11 Albanian citizens were released and expelled. The ministry will continue to act to establish whether other foreigners participated in the unrest, concludes the report.

Albanian Leader Issues Warning

AU1011122492 Paris AFP in English 1153 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Report by Nicolas Miletitch]

[Text] Skopje, Macedonia, Nov 10 (AFP)—Albanians in Macedonia feel "a great sense of revolt" against the police following last week's disturbances here in which

three Albanians were shot dead, leading Albanian politician Muhamed Halili said here Tuesday [10 November].

With weapons available everywhere in Macedonia, the situation had become very difficult. "We do not know how much time there still is for us to be able to avoid conflict," warned Halili, who heads the minority community's group of MPs [members of parliament] in the Macedonian parliament.

There would be no ethnic conflict if the police refrained from further provocation, otherwise they would "meet the armed resistance of the Albanians," Halili said. He accused President Kiro Gligorov of being aware of last week's police operation and of doing nothing to stop it.

The authorities "want to stir up ethnic conflict to push the European Community to recognise Macedonia" as it has Yugoslavia's other secessionist states, Halili charged.

According to official figures, Albanians account for almost 22 percent of Macedonia's 2.3 million population, but Halili put the figure at between 30 and 40 percent. He admitted that groups of Albanians were armed, but insisted they were "isolated cases," compared with members of the ultra-nationalist Macedonian movement VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] who were organised in paramilitary units.

He dismissed local fears that the Albanians meant to secede to join neighbouring Albania by saying Albania was not ready for such a development.

The Albanian community's officially-stated aim is to have an autonomous province with its own government covering one-third of Macedonia's 24,000 square kilometres (9,600 square miles) in the western regions with a majority Albanian population.

The main towns include Tetovo, Gostivar and Debar. Albanians voted 99.9 percent in favour of autonomy in a referendum in January organised by the community, but which the Macedonian government ruled illegal.

While awaiting that unlikely autonomy, Halili and his colleagues in parliament are campaigning for greater Albanian representation in the police and army, at the university, and in government, which has five Albanian ministers.

Despite Quiet, Tensions Continue

AU0911200392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Report by Dragan Stojanovic from Skopje]

[Text] Skopje is apparently returning to normal everyday life after Black Friday's clash between the police and the Albanians here in Bit Pazar. I say apparently because there is a pervading sense of uncertainty, tension and fear of the possibility of new clashes.

Bit Pazar is again today under a rather strong police siege. There have been suggestions of new rallies. The police, wearing full riot gear, have all the main points in the city under control and, we have found out, some surrounding Albanian villages. Our team also had to go through three police check-points. We have also seen first aid teams in the streets. There is fear here of renewed clashes. The old part of Skopje, Bit Pazar, which is usually heaving with people, is today almost deserted. Everyone who owns a shop here has been advised to close it for the day and go home this morning.

The local papers stress that relations between the Macedonians and the Albanians have reached a postwar low. The Macedonian Government, that is, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has announced that the violence had been prepared some 10 days beforehand, and that the Albanians had brought into the old part of town car tires and sandbags for barricades. That is why there is a widespread belief here that this was not a trivial incident—a war between the police and the black marketeers, which has after all cost four lives, with 23 people injured—but a clash with far more serious consequences.

The fourth victim of Skopje's Black Friday has been identified as 22-year-old Sulejman Memes.

The citizens of western Macedonia have been disturbed by the appearance of about 2,000 leaflets, in which the youth of the so-called Ilirida, the illegally proclaimed Albanian state within Macedonia, is even calling for all-out war. The Macedonian press is writing today about the symptoms of Sarajevo syndrome, and appealing for caution and common sense.

Daily Examines Chances for U.S. Recognition

AU0911145992 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 5 Nov 92 p 7

[Commentary by S. Jovanovska: "An Idealist in the White House"]

[Text] With a clear feeling of responsibility for the time in which their country has found itself and with enormous hope and an obvious message, the Americans voted for Bill Clinton and his new, different America the day before yesterday.

"I am an idealist with a democratic foreign policy," he told the voters before the elections, promising them that he will turn the United States toward the Americans. The ones that have been forgotten, the ones that have been stripped of their rights, the unemployed, and the underprivileged, who wanted to listen to a new voice, understood all this and voted for him. Bush and the Republicans, who did not know how to acquire and value the support of the members of the middle class, various ethnic communities, the blacks, the Hispanics, women, and homosexuals, and, above all, the young, ended their 12-year rule and experienced defeat on all three "fronts"—for the White House, the Senate, and the House of Representatives.

All reports pointed out this fact, as well as the fact that Clinton is the first Democrat since Kennedy to enter the White House with so much support. His victory in the southern states, which had not been won by a Democrat for the last 16 years in congressional and presidential elections, and the huge number of electoral votes, show that the elections were not only about programs, personal characteristics, and trust in the candidates, but also about a clash between two generations, the one that had said what it had to say, and the other that was full of ideals and ambitions, whose time will come to the fore with the new president. Clinton, who is essentially the first president to have been born after World War II, a president who was brought up in an atmosphere of peace and optimism, stated that he will strive for the protection of justice, human rights, and responsibility in world policy.

Continuity or Changes?

What will his election mean for the domestic and foreign policy of the United States as the only superpower? As usual, before elections there are many promises. Once the results are announced, many statements are made in the style of "new challenges at the threshold of the cold war and the new area." The moves that then follow are often pragmatic, egoistic, for U.S. interests, and frequently quite different from those promised in the programs. Clinton's intention to preserve the United States as the one economic superpower—which was the crucial issue for the voters—with new investment, more jobs, higher taxes, the reexamination of the list of "the most privileged" partners, generally speaking can benefit not only the Americans but also serve as a stimulus for the development of Europe and other regions. His foreign policy plans are quite clear, especially because in his initial statements he announced continuity with present policy toward other countries, with more liberal moves.

Clinton holds the view that the United States should continue to lead the world as the only superpower. He wants to help eastern European countries, and above all Russia, and prevent a surge in nationalism and armed conflicts. He advocates greater involvement in Bosnia-Hercegovina, though without arms. He demands a reexamination of ties with Arab "tyrants," and offers unreserved support to Israel, including the recognition of its right to declare Jerusalem the capital city and prevent the Palestinians from acquiring autonomy. Many of his announced moves, ones that earned him the epithet of "militant," uncharacteristic of a Democrat, are nevertheless interpreted as preelection tactics, especially because they contradict his endeavor for human rights and promises of enormous help to countries in the most threatened regions.

Macedonia's Chances

In view of his support for human rights, Macedonia can demand its right to be recognized. Many reports that have come from Washington so far, as well as the analyses of his election platform, give cause for unclear and pessimistic forecasts about the possible moves of the new administration concerning the Macedonian issue. The fact that the Greek, George Stephanopoulos, occupied a prominent place during the election campaign, that he was mentioned after the elections to be among those who are on the president's team, as well as the fact that the sentence "the United States must be sensitive to Greece's concern about the use of the name Macedonia" was in the platform, could mean a lot, but not necessarily. After all, Clinton was elected by the Americans to protect the interests and the reputation of the United States, regardless of the fact that the Greeks are part of that nation and that country. Considerable influence regarding Macedonia's recognition could be exerted via the Democratic Party, which is traditionally the "base" of the Greek lobby, but not to the extent of bringing into question the global policy of that country, the principles for which this party strives, and principles with which it won the elections.

All this will be weighed up over the next four years. Greek interests are not dominant, nor are Democrats united on them, and even less on the interests of the nation. Considering that after 20 January Washington will undergo the greatest personnel changes in the last 12 years, it is difficult to believe that the new administration will immediately make long term moves without analyzing all the circumstances and without opting for some global and well-planned policy that will not harm its own plans and ideas. Continuity will most certainly play a major role in it, considering that Clinton himself admitted to lack of experience in foreign policy and at the same time confirmed the correctness of numerous moves by Bush's team, even though they clashed in the election race.

Finally, a regular topic after the elections is the supremacy in power of the Republicans and the Democrats, which even Ross Perot, one of the most popular independent candidates ever in presidential elections, did not manage to endanger. Is this democracy? What are the chances for other political parties? What are the chances of the blacks, Hispanics, and others getting power in Congress or the White House? Although, according to the latest assessment, in the congressional elections some of these candidates received enormous support, the electoral system, which favors the most influential, does not allow them power in the highest representative body. This system is obviously a defense against unwanted ideas and people and against significant changes, which was reflected in the fact that the turnout was not even 60 percent, even though this was one of the most exciting presidential elections ever.